THE CONGRESS.

HE LEADING CHARACTERISTIC of the Congress of 1886 was, that it was the whole country's Congress. The Congress of 1885 had been got together with some difficulty by the exertions of a few leading reformers, and included less than one hu[illegible] more advanced thinkers belonging to the most prominent centres of political activity. The Congress of 1886 may be said to have grown, almost spontaneously, out of the unanimous resolve of the educated and semi-educated classes, throughout the Empire, to take a decisive step towards the attainment of that political enfranchisement to which they have come, of late years, to attach so much importance.

In all the more advanced provinces action commenced early in the autumn, and it very soon became apparent that the second Congress was destined to be, in many essential respects, a decided advance on the first.

The delegates or representatives who attended the first Congress, though representatives of the highest culture of the land, and fully qualified to speak as to the wants and wishes of the nation, yet appeared as volunteers in the good cause, uncommissioned, as a rule, by any constituencies, local or general, to appear on their behalf. Very early it seems to have occurred, simultaneously, to all those most interested in the renewed movement, that something more than this was requisite, and that the gentlemen who were to take part in the second Congress ought to receive some public authorization from the bodies and communities (or leading members of these latter) whom they were to represent. Accordingly, as the time of the Congress drew near, the leading Associations at all the more important towns and cities proceeded to elect delegates, and great public meetings, embracing all classes of the community, who were in any way interested in the matter, were also held, almost throughout the country, at which representatives were designated.

It has not been possible to collect the records of all these elections, but a sufficient number of notices of these, gleaned from papers of different presidencies and provinces, have been placed on record in Appendix II, to show how thoroughly and systematically this new feature in the arrangements was developed.

Another point, that grew to be generally insisted on, was that the representatives ought to be made aware, beforehand, of the principal subjects likely to come under discussion at the Congress, and so be in a position to ascertain, in advance, the views thereon of their constituencies.

Accordingly, printed suggestions as to subjects for the consideration of the Congress were issued from several of the provinces and circulated to all the others. The first was issued from Calcutta (where the general feeling on the subject first took a tangible form), and is reproduced in Appendix III as sufficiently indicating the nature of these preliminary steps. Unfortunately, admirable as the idea was, the necessary machinery (now provided by the Standing Congress

Committee, Resolution XIII of 1886) did not exist for carrying it out in its integrity, and a considerable proportion of the delegates never saw, or even if they saw, never properly considered, in consultation with their constituents, these important papers of suggestions, which constituted the foundation stones of the subsequent Congressional deliberations. Still, although not as fully circulated as they should have been, a majority of the delegates came "forewarned and forearmed," and even this was a great advance on the procedure of the previous year.

But the greatest advance lay, perhaps, in the total change in the character of the Congress. In the previous year people had to be pressed and entreated to come; to the late Congress everybody *wanted* to come of their own accord. The first Congress was created by the labour of a few who had to nurse carefully the young plant; the second Congress burst into vigorous growth on its own account, with a luxuriance that demanded careful pruning. From some provinces double, or more than double, the numbers actually delegated would have been sent, but for inter-provincial communications as to the numbers other provinces contemplated sending, and remonstrances against one province swamping the others.

For the first Congress there was no enthusiasm until after it was over and its results had been announced (though then indeed the entire country endorsed those results and warmly approved the new departure); but, in regard to the second Congress, the greatest enthusiasm prevailed, especially throughout Bengal. Bengal alone could have furnished a thousand delegates, and not only did a great many more people desire to attend than could possibly have been admitted, but hundreds, certainly, of persons (some say over a thousand) came down from distant parts of the country merely to *see* the Assemblage; and when at the close of the first meeting at the Town Hall, where the delegates were almost stifled in a crowd of from 2,000 to 3,000 lookers-on, it was decided to hold subsequent meetings elsewhere, where real business might be possible, the gravest dissatisfaction was expressed by the Indian public and the proposed arrangements had to be subsequently modified.

Nor was this all: at many places, large crowds accompanied the delegates to the ships or railway stations on their departure for the Congress, giving them ovations, as if they were great conquerors returning laden with the spoils of victory, rather than humble soldiers, departing to share in one of the little preliminary skirmishes of freedom's great battle. Perhaps they truly felt that that battle—

> "Once begun
> Bequeathed from wearied sire to son,
> Tho' baffled oft, is ever won;"

and that the feeble advanced guard whom they were sending forth to MAKE that beginning, more lacked their support and more truly deserved their gratitude, than would the laurel-crowned victors of a later time.

But, perhaps, the best evidence of the widespread enthusiasm that pervaded the country is to be gathered from a study of the list of the delegates (Appendix I), together with only "a small scale map" of this vast empire.

When we reflect that (excluding the people of Calcutta, and those within comparatively easy reach of the capital) 300 men left their homes, many of them men who had scarcely ever before crossed the boundaries of the districts in which they were born, to make long journeys (in the case of nearly 30 of them exceeding 2,000 miles in length) into, to them, unknown provinces, inhabited by populations speaking unknown languages ; that the average distance travelled to the Congress by *each* of these 300 gentlemen (by no means as a rule over rich) was no less than 903 miles ; that high caste Brahmins, from Madras, boldly ventured on and crossed those dark waters so full of nameless dread and solemnity to most of them, we may begin to realize a little the growing strength of the idea, of which this late National Congress was the embodiment.

Altogether about 500 gentlemen were elected either at public meetings, or by Societies, Associations and Sabhas (Literary, Political, Agricultural and the like), representing each of them considerable (and some of them *very* large) bodies of intelligent, if not, according to European notions, fully educated, persons. Deaths—deaths of near relatives (which in the case of Hindus prevent a participation for from ten to thirty days in such an undertaking)—sickness, urgent private affairs or professional calls, and accidents of travel, somewhat thinned the numbers, and only about 440 actually attended the Meetings of the Congress. In Appendix I will be found a list, as complete as circumstances have permitted us to compile, of 434 of these, but some four or five gentlemen, it is believed, left Calcutta without recording their names, or depositing any credentials of their delegateship, whose names, from want of the necessary particulars, have consequently been omitted.

These numbers, however, by no means represent the real deliberative strength of the Assembly, since, besides these delegates, a considerable number of more or less eminent members of the Government Services visited Calcutta at the time of the Congress ; and, although taking no part in the Public Proceedings, privately afforded the delegates of their own provinces advice at many of those friendly informal consultations, at which much of the real work of the Congress was practically disposed of.

Taking, however, the list as it stands, the geographical completeness of the representation will be apparent at a glance. Not only were all the presidencies, provinces and natural sub-divisions of the country, Madras, the Deccan, the Konkan, Guzerat, Sindh, the Panjab, Oudh, the N. W. Provinces, Rohilkhand, the Central Provinces, Behar, Assam, Lower Bengal, Chota Nagpore and Orissa, represented by natives of these territorial divisions, but most of the smaller sub-divisions included in these provinces were equally represented by people belonging to *them*.

From Madras, where the representative system received great attention, delegates were sent from almost every single district, and duly constituted representatives appeared from Madras city, from Berhampur, Vizagapatam, Bimlipatam, Rajamundry, Masulipatam, Bezwada, Gudiveda, Nellore, Ongole, Bellary, Gooty, Anantpore, Penukondah, Kurnool, Walajanaggar, Chittore, Chingleput, Combaconum, Mayaveram, Cuddalore, Coimbatore, Calicut, and Raichore. From the Konkan, delegates came from Bombay and Bassein ; from the Deccan, from Sangli, Poona, Sattara, and Belgaum ; from Guzerat, from

Ahmedabad, Surat, Broach, Viragaum, Nariad and Baroda ; and from Sindh from Sukkur, Kotri, Hyderabad, and Kurrachee. From the Punjab, Lahore, Amritsur, Ambala, Gurdaspur, and Dehra Ismail Khan sent delegates ; from the N. W. Provinces, Allahabad, Ballia, Tajpore (Bijnore), Ghazipur, Agra, Mynpooree, Benares, Almora, Mirzapur, Aligarh, Farukhabad, Meerut, Kankhal (Hurdwar), Azimgarh, Basti and Muradabad were represented. Oudh furnished contingents from Lucknow, Unao, Partabgarh, Barabanki and Fyzabad, and the Central Provinces from Nagpur, Khandwa, Jubbulpore and Hoshungabad. Every district of Behar furnished its quota, and representatives came from Patna, Bankipore, Behar, Shahabad, Doomraon, Chupra, Gya, Mozufferpore and Bhagulpore. The list of the places represented in Lower Bengal is almost a list of all the districts. Chota Nagpore sent delegates from Hazaribagh, Ranchi and Purulia ; Orissa from Balasore ; and Assam from Sylhet, Cachar, Shillong, Nowgong and Debrugarh.

Limited as the number was (and had it not been limited probably two thousand, instead of five hundred delegates, would have been elected) it is not easy to conceive a more complete representation from a merely geographical point of view than the Congress provided.

Taking the populations of the British portions only, of the presidencies and provinces represented, the total may be stated in round numbers at 196 millions, and the 431 delegates (excluding three from places in Native States) were therefore in the ratio of 2·2 per million of the population. But this ratio, as will be seen, was not maintained in the several provinces.

Presidency or Province.	Number of Delegates.	Population in millions of British territories only.	Number of Delegates per million.
Madras	47	31	1·5
Bombay	47	17	2·7
Punjab	17	19	0·9
North-Western Provinces and Oudh	74	44	1·7
Central Provinces	8	10	0·8
Bengal	230	70	3·3
Assam	8	5	1·6

No great objection need be taken to the figures of Madras, Assam or the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, though the delegates from these were less numerous than they should have been ; but the two backward provinces, the Punjab and the Central Provinces, were inadequately represented, while Bombay, always zealous to be to the front, and with three strong centres of political activity, Poona, Bombay and Surat, was, perhaps, over-represented, and Bengal (to large portions of which the place of assemblage was temptingly near) was very decidedly so.

But in order to realize how fairly catholic, on the whole, the representation was, and on the other hand to distinguish clearly the points in which it was defective, it is necessary to analyse more closely the composition of the Assemblage. Unfortunately the list of representatives, as explained in the final footnote to Appendix I, is by no means complete in regard to those particulars of station, profession and the like, so essential to a really exhaustive analysis ; and only a little additional information has been obtained since this list was published.

Nevertheless the facts available are quite sufficient to enable us to form a fairly correct idea of the composition of the Congress as a whole.

The first thing that strikes one, in going through the list, is the entire absence of the old aristocracy, the so-called natural leaders of the people, and who, were they capable of understanding their own interests, would have been foremost in this movement. Several more or less distinguished gentlemen, like Sirdar Uttam Singh, Nawab Reza Ali Khan, Raja Rampal Sing, Maharajah Sir Jotendro Mohun Tagore, Rajah Rajendra Narain Deb, Maharaj Kumar Nilkrishna, Nawab Gholam Rubbani and others, graced the Congress with their presence; but of the hundreds of the old hereditary aristocracy, who are still to be found scattered over the whole country, not one leading member was to be found amongst the delegates. The reason is obvious; the policy of the Government has excluded these gentlemen persistently from all positions worthy of their rank, whether in the army or in the civil administration of the country, and they have consequently, as a rule, entirely lost the desire, if not the capacity, for personally exerting themselves or taking any direct active interest in public affairs.

The next point that attracts attention is the absence of the shop-keeping class. The British rule has been called the Bunya's Raj. Shop-keepers by millions swarm over every part of the country, many of them rich, most of them fairly well-to-do, yet only one single man of this class was to be found in the ranks of the delegates. The higher commercial classes, bankers, merchants, were fairly represented; but petty money-lenders and shop-keepers were conspicuous by their absence. In the first place, these classes are, broadly speaking, grossly ignorant and entirely immersed in their own personal concerns; and in the second place they, naturally enough, do not care for any change in a form of Government, which, while it prevents others from robbing *them*, furnishes, in its system of civil jurisprudence, ample facilities to *them*, for enriching *themselves!*

Lastly, the ryots and cultivating classes were insufficiently represented; five ryots came as representatives, and six other gentlemen came as the elected representatives of different Ryots' Associations, and over and above this from several parts of the country, the Deccan, Madras and Lower Bengal, came representatives, known champions of the ryot, and, in their own parts of the country, trusted and looked up to by these; but, for all this, considering the vast magnitude of the class and of the aggregate interests involved, it cannot be denied that the cultivating classes were inadequately represented.

For this of course there were two obvious reasons: The first is that the great bulk of the ryots, intelligent worthy men as so many of them are, have as yet but a very imperfect knowledge of political matters. A great number of them realize that the times are somehow out of joint, but they have not learnt to rise from particular instances to generalizations, and they neither understand exactly what is wrong nor have they, as a class, any clear and definite ideas as to what could, or ought, to be done to lighten somewhat their lot in life. To educate the intelligent members of the cultivating classes (and these are immensely more numerous than those who have not dealt directly with them suppose) in all such matters, is one of our most pressing duties. In some comparatively limited tracts the work has already been undertaken, but it has to be extended to *all* parts of the country, and persevered in for years, before we can hope to see this, the most important of all classes, fitly and fairly represented in our Councils.

The second reason is the comparative poverty of the class, which must always debar all, but a very few, of them from themselves making long journeys to attend such gatherings, though not, of course, from electing others, more favoured by fortune, to represent their views and wishes at these.

Excluding then the old aristocracy and the shop-keepers and petty money-lenders, who were in no way represented, and the cultivating classes who were inadequately represented, all other important classes and interests were satisfactorily represented. It may be thought that the artizans too were left somewhat out in the cold, as no artizan appeared as a delegate; but under British rule the old artizan class has almost disappeared; skilled artizans, of the modern type, are few in number and form as yet but a comparatively small class, and where at all numerous have begun to join and are members of People's and other Associations which did send representatives, so that thus far it cannot be said that they were inadequately represented. Doubtless, as technical education gains ground and India develops, as all hope it gradually may, into a manufacturing country, this class will require and obtain more direct representation.

The higher landed interests were well represented, as about 130 of the delegates were talukdars, zemindars, or landed proprietors of one kind or another.

The legal profession, as in the English House of Commons, mustered very strong, since no less than 166 delegates belonged to it. But in this large number are included not only barristers, solicitors, attorneys, vaquils and pleaders, but also retired judges, and amongst the vaquils and pleaders several are gentlemen who, although they have qualified, do not practise, but are landholders, editors of newspapers, principals of colleges and the like, so that some deduction has to be made from the gross total given above if the real strength of the legal profession in the Congress is to be gauged. None the less the legal profession is the one path to distinction, position and wealth (outside Government service) open to Indians of ability and moderate means, and so, everywhere, a majority of the cleverest men, who are unable to secure or unwilling to take Government service, enter the legal profession; and as the bulk of the ablest and cleverest men in the whole country, outside the Government services, appeared at this late Congress, necessarily the lawyers *were* strong in it.

It is curious to note, as illustrating the stimulus afforded by high education to rational conceptions of individual and national rights and to political aspirations generally, that more than one-fourth of the delegates were graduates, mostly of Indian Universities, but a few of European ones, and one or two of both.

Of course the Indian Press was well represented, some forty editors, sub-editors and proprietors of newspapers appearing as delegates. Amongst the papers so represented may be mentioned the "Hindu," the "Andhra Prakasika," the "Crescent" and the "Kerala Patrika" (all of the Madras Presidency); the "Indu Prakash," the "Dhyan Prakash," the "Journal of the Sarvajanik Sabha," the "Gujerati," "Sindh Sudhar" and "Sindh Times" (of the Bombay Presidency); the "Tribune" and "Kohinoor" (of the Punjab); the "Prayag Sumachar," the "Naseem Agra," the "Sitara Hind," the "Miratul Hind," the "Hindustani," the "Rozana Akhbar," the "Indian Union" and the "Indian Courier" (of the N. W.

Provinces and Oudh) ; and the "Behar Herald" and "Indian Chronicle," the "Hindu Patriot," the "Bengali," the "Mirror," the "Suravi," the "Sar Sudhanidhi," the "Bharatbasi," the "Sanjivani," the "Reis and Rayyet," the "Indian Nation," the "Amrita Bazar Patrika," the "Ahmedi" and the "Christian Herald," all of Bengal.

There were two dozen of principals, professors and masters of Indian Schools and Colleges, but as yet the great bulk of those engaged in the work of higher education are Government servants, and hence did not appear as delegates.

Then there were some twenty merchants, nearly the same number of bankers, sixteen medical men, a small group of mill-owners, manufacturers, tea and indigo planters, a couple of contractors, a single engineer and three ministers and missionaries.

About 70 of the delegates were presidents, vice-presidents or elected members of the Municipalities in which they reside, and some 30 held similar positions in their local district or sub-divisional Boards.

We had not many members of the Governor-General's or local Legislative Councils, because until quite of late years the gentlemen selected for these responsible positions were, as a rule, hardly up to the intellectual standard required for delegates. But a great improvement has taken place in these matters in recent times, and we were able to show seven "Honorables" second in ability to none of their colleagues at the Congress.

Only fifteen Honorary and Presidency Magistrates appear in the list, though there were two or three more who, though not recorded as such, hold, it is believed, one or other of these offices. But even if we say 20, this is an extraordinarily small number, considering the multitude of these dignitaries spread all over the country, and the fact that so many of the delegates were far better qualified for this position than the bulk of those gentlemen who occupy it in the mofussil. The explanation, however, is simple. As a broad rule, gentlemen are created Honorary Magistrates on the recommendations of local officials, and also as a broad rule these local officials recommend gentlemen for the post, not on account of any special qualifications therefor, but because they are well-to-do, and study obsequiously the wishes of the district authorities in all they say and do. Of course this was not a class likely to furnish many delegates, when the impression prevailed that the European officials, as a body, were hostile to the Congress. It is to be hoped that this impression was an erroneous one, and certainly His Excellency the Viceroy set the example of maintaining a most kindly attitude towards the assemblage, but, well or ill-founded, the impression was almost universal, and it must be taken into consideration when estimating the earnestness which animated the delegates. It was not merely the loss of time, the expense, the discomforts of the long journey that had to be faced, but the fact, as so many of the delegates from the mofussil believed, that from the day they started for the Congress they would be marked men, and their names recorded in the blackest of the district official's black books.

We have said nothing yet of religious distinctions, because we consider that it is a community of temporal interests and not of spiritual convictions that qualify men to represent each other in the vast majority of political questions. We hold that, their general interests in this country being identical, Hindus, Christians, Mahomedans and Parsees may, as fitly as members of their respective communities, *represent each other in the discussion of public secular affairs. We contend that, as regards the universal feeling that the people of India are not altogether getting fair* play under the existing form of the administration, and as regards the equally universal desire for a reform in this latter, the aspirations of every loyal, honest and educated man, no matter what his creed, so long as he be an Indian, *must* be identical on all general principles. There will be differences of opinion as to details, but these differences will hinge, not on differences of creed, but on differences in social position, profession, occupation, and the like. As regards the great general outlines of the leading reforms at which these Congresses aim, and with which alone they pretend to deal, there can be no difference of opinion between good and capable Indians (be their creed what it may) arising out of, or in any way dependent on, religious differences.

Therefore we utterly deprecate the introduction of any religious sentiment, or any reference to gentlemen's religious beliefs into political movements of the nature of these Congresses, and on the present occasion should have considered it sufficient merely to record that Hindus, Mahomedans, Sikhs, Christians, Brahmos and Parsees, took part in the Conference.

But unfortunately an effort has been made to detract from the national character of the late assemblage, by pointing out that numerically, according to the proportion observable in the population, the Mahomedans were inadequately represented ; which is just as if the nationality of the House of Commons in England were denied, because it contained a smaller proportion than the population of Great Britain as a whole, of Methodists or Roman Catholics. Of course as every one knows, even in Ireland, where the religious antagonism of Protestants and Roman Catholics far exceeds that anywhere existing in India between Mahomedans and Hindus, a Protestant like Mr. Parnell represents a Catholic constituency.

The objection raised is of course frivolous in the extreme, but let us see what it amounts to. In the population of India as a whole, the Mahomedans constitute less than one-fifth,* but out of our 196 millions, 44 millions, or exactly $\frac{44}{196}$ths are Mahomedans, so that if the exact arithmetical proportion were maintained, a thing no sane man could ever dream of in an assemblage constituted to deal with secular matters only, 97 (and a *fraction*) of our 431 delegates should have been Mahomedans, whereas as a fact only 33 of the representatives were Mussulmen. Now, considering how very backward as regards education the great bulk of the Mahomedans are in the present day, and the consequent apathy to all large political questions that characterizes them, this comparatively small number of Mahomedan delegates might have been accepted as the natural result of the present lack of higher education† amongst our Mahomedan brethren. But in reality a special cause operated to restrain the Mahomedans of Calcutta and its neighbourhood, whence many representatives were expected, from joining the Congress.

Three prominent Calcutta Mahomedans, two of them the leaders of the only local Mahomedan Associations of any note, under some misapprehension, into which it is too late now to enquire, saw fit at the last moment to declare publicly against the Congress, to which they were pleased to prefer what one of them styled "a policy of confidence in the Government," and no time being left for threshing out the question, the Mahomedans of Calcutta and its neighbourhood, not knowing what might lie behind these manifestos, almost as a body abstained from taking part in the movement.

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* Plowden says 1,974 in every 10,000.

† Bengal alone contains 22 out of the 44 millions of Mahomedans inhabiting the Provinces which the Congress was supposed to represent. In Bengal, of males of 10 years and upwards only 0·6 per cent. ; in the case of Mahomedans are " persons engaged in the learned professions and in literature, art and science," while in the case of the Hindus no less than 1·78 per cent. were so engaged. Unfortunately these details were not worked out at the Census in any other Province (*V. Indian Empire, Census*, 1881, *I. pp.* 374, 375).

This short-sighted action has not commended itself to the Mahomedans of India as a body.* Mahomedan speakers at the Congress, one after the other,† from Dacca, Patna, Lucknow and other centres, denounced it as unjustifiable and unpatriotic, and declared that where they came from Mahomedans and Hindus ever worked, in all such matters, shoulder to shoulder, and were too wise not to understand that their interests, where the political enfranchisement of the country was concerned, were identical. Even in Calcutta itself, a certain reaction has taken place, and some, at any rate, of the Mahomedans feel and admit that a mistake has been made.

The matter was of no importance and need not have been noticed but for the absurd prominence given to it by some of the Anglo-Indian journals, who vainly sought to attach to it a grave political significance. Having, however, noticed it, it may be well, before dismissing the subject, to quote from his annual address to the Positivists, what Mr. H. J. S. Cotton, one of the clearest-sighted of the European officials in India, has felt constrained to say on the subject. He says (not being of course aware of the real circumstances, and judging only as a spectator) :—

"The National Congresses, the second of which has just concluded its session in Calcutta, are visible symbols of this unmistakable tendency towards nationality. The meetings of this Congress, while they are distinctly political in character, have been marked

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* Take, for instance, the speech of Sheikh Reza Hossain (a gentleman who is not to be confounded with Nawab Reza Ali Khan), the President of the Rifa-i-am (the most important Association in Upper India), on the occasion of the visit, on their tour through the N. W. Provinces, of certain of the Madras delegates, a few days after the close of the Congress.

Gentlemen,—I thank you heartily for having taken the trouble to come to this city after your recent deliberations at Calcutta. I welcome you, gentlemen of Bellary, from the bottom of my heart to this ancient capital. If political Congresses are not likely, as some Anglo-Indian friends allege, to end in anything great, they have done so much at least. that to-day we find the nobility and gentry of Lucknow welcoming the inhabitants of other parts of the country. (*Cheers.*) Gentlemen, I have read in the papers that, some, apparently very narrow minded men, call this Congress a Hindu Congress. But I will not resume my seat to-day without denying this unfounded allegation. (*Cheers.*) I do not think that the Mahomedans, who have kept aloof, are all absolutely devoid of reason, but it seems to me that their actions have rather been the result of prejudice and selfishness than of principle and reason. (*Loud cheers.*) It is a calumny to say that Mahomedans have no sympathy with this great national movement. In every community there are some gentlemen of fault-finding tendencies, and when these gentlemen found that they had no other way of justifying their conduct, they took upon themselves to misrepresent the objects of the Congress. But, as in every other case, truth prevailed, and all attempts to discredit the promoters of the good movement have been laid bare. (*Cheers.*) I tell you, gentlemen here present, that the Mahomedans have full sympathy with the Congress. If need were, I could take upon myself to furnish the signatures of 50,000 Mahomedans (*loud cheers*) in support of my assertion. In the by-gone days of Mahomedan power, though the great sections of the Indian community differed in respect of religion and customs, the Hindus never lacked in their fidelity towards the ruling powers; and, in return, the Mahomedans took them into their confidence, and gave them a share in the administration of their country. (*Hear, hear.*) In my opinion no country can prosper in which there is not a national unity. We may differ in religous views, but in our aspirations I hold that we are one. We have a common goal before us; and in every other respect, we are, in reality, one nation. (*Loud cheers.*) When, unfortunately, there is any famine or plague or misfortune among us, there is no distinction made between the various communities. So, in respect of laws, should they all be treated alike. (*Applause.*) I do not think those gentlemen wise who say that there is no necessity for a Conference of this kind, inasmuch as the Government will themselves consider our needs, and grant us all we desire and ought to receive. I never knew any Government taking any people into its confidence unless the latter showed that they were fit for such a distinction; and I should like to know what better way exists for proving our fitness than the holding of Congresses and Conferences? (*Cheers.*) This national demonstration has shown, to a great extent, the moderation of our demands. It has clearly shown that these demands are not the demands of a handful of interested and self-seeking agitators. Nobody can raise any question as to the representative character of the meeting, which numbered among its delegates the greatest and best of our patriots—men who are not for doing away with law and order, but who are actuated by the purest of principles. In honoring such men all Hindus and Mahomedans ought to be, and I believe, are united. (*Long and continued cheers.*)

† *Vide* the detailed Report of the Proceedings, pages 51, 105, 106, 107, 109.

by order and sobriety, by firmness and persistence. The meetings at the Town Hall, of which I was myself an eye-witness, are among the most remarkable assemblages ever gathered together in this or any country. The ablest and most competent representatives from all the provinces in India have taken part in the discussions. The prospect opened out to us is in the highest degree satisfactory. The only incident that clouds our hopes is the unwise reluctance which the Mahomedans of Bengal have shown in co-operating with their Hindu brethren in the movement. It appears, indeed, to be limited to the Mahomedans of Bengal, and not to be shared in by their co-religionists of North-Western, Western, Central and Southern India. But in any case it is unwise on their part to stand aloof, and I can only hope that their reluctance, which under all the circumstances of the case, historic and otherwise, is perhaps not unnatural, may yield to time. Hindus and Mahomedans, Parsees and Sikhs, Armenians and Eurasians, are all Indians alike with their home in India, and it is both their interest and their duty, suppressing as far as possible all differences and personal jealousies, to combine and work together in the same fold, and in the same direction, and with the one object of their own national advancement."

Early in September a Committee to arrange for the reception and entertainment of the 250 delegates expected from Northern, Western and Southern India, was established at Calcutta under the presidency of Sir Jotendro Mohun Tagore. It is an understanding that, while delegates from any part of the province in which a Congress may be held, make their own arrangements for their sojourn thereat, the delegates from other provinces shall be, during the Congress, the guests of the province where the assemblage is held.

A good deal of money had therefore to be raised, the Maharajahs of Cooch Behar, Durbangah, Hutwa and Dumraon, Sir Jotendro Mohun Tagore and other leading gentlemen of the British Indian Association, the Venerable Debendro Nath Tagore and many other distinguished members of our community heading the list with great liberality, and several large houses (Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee and Baboo Hem Chunder Gossain giving up their fine houses amongst others for the purpose) had to be secured* for the accommodation of the expected delegates. The work of receiving and entertaining so large a body of guests belonging to so many different castes and creeds was necessarily very arduous. Many helped in one way or another, or success would have been impossible, but the bulk of the actual labour practically devolved on three gentlemen, Messrs. J. Ghosal, Girija Bhusan Mookerjee, and Kumud Chunder Mookerjee, whose unwearying assiduity and thoughtful kindness have been gracefully and gratefully acknowledged by all our visitors.

Great stress was laid in the circular issued in March 1885,† to which these Congresses owe their origin, on the expediency of *all* the delegates living *together* throughout the Congress week ; partly to enable them to become personally well acquainted with each other, and thus cement the union between the most earnest reformers of all parts of the Empire, and partly to secure ample opportunities for the thorough threshing out of all important questions in friendly, informal committees, prior to their formal consideration at the public sittings of the Congress. The number of these public sittings, owing to the shortness of the holidays, during which alone the Congress can be held, and the huge distances so many of the delegates must always have to travel, are necessarily limited to three or four, and it was felt that these could never suffice to dispose satisfactorily of the great subjects that would be sure, yearly, to demand the attention of the Congress, unless they were thoroughly worked out beforehand, in informal consultations of far longer duration than could be allotted to any formal public sitting. From the first the idea in regard to these public sittings has always been that they should do little more than formally and publicly record the conclusions arrived at "in committee," and set forth authoritatively the more important of the grounds on which these conclusions were based.

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* All the houses so occupied were in Park Street and close to one another.

† See page 4 of the Report of the Proceedings of the FIRST Indian National Congress.

At the first Congress at Bombay, this idea was thoroughly worked up to, but at the late Congress, in Calcutta, local circumstances prevented, to some extent, a strict adherence to this system. Bengal sent some 230 delegates, and the majority of these were scattered here and there over the immense area of this great capital and its widely extending suburbs (including Howrah, &c). It was impossible for these gentlemen, as a body, both to attend at the public sittings and also spend the rest of the day, their mornings and evenings, at the guest houses, at one or other of which (they being close together) consultations and discussions were going on from sunrise till late at night, joined in sometimes by many, sometimes by few, sometimes carried on in provincial groups, sometimes by the leading spirits only of several such groups. Fortunately Messrs. Ananda Mohun Bose and Surendra Nath Bannerjee managed to get together, elsewhere, informal committees of over a hundred of the Bengal delegates, ascertain their views and communicate them to, and discuss them on behalf of their provincial colleagues with, the leaders of some of the other provincial groups at the guest houses. But it must be conceded, we fear, that after making all allowances, nearly one-fourth of the delegates never had the opportunity of discussing the many important subjects disposed of by the Congress, either directly or through those who knew and shared their views, with their colleagues of *other* provinces, until they met at the public sittings, which were no more favourable; than is the House of Commons, to the calm arguing out of individual views. This acknowledged defect in the practical working of our late Congress will, it is hoped and believed, be remedied at all subsequent ones.

The delegates began to arrive on the 25th of December, and on the 26th several of the Bengal leaders, and one or two of the most distinguished of the delegates of most of the other provinces, met at the rooms of the British Indian Association, and talked over certain draft resolutions, which had been prepared in consultation with certain of the delegates who had arrived, mainly on the lines of the "suggestions" already circulated, to serve as a preliminary basis for discussion. Some of these resolutions were modified, others were added, and the result was the establishment of a somewhat more definite series of proposals to place in the hands of the now fast arriving delegates. These proposals again were modified and added to day by day, as they were discussed and criticised at the friendly conferences already referred to, and some again were further altered at the public sittings; but it is needless now to say more about these, as a complete summary of all the resolutions, as finally passed, will be found at the close of this introductory notice.

The first public sitting of the Congress took place on Monday, the 27th, at the Town Hall. Despite the enormous size of the hall, it was everywhere crowded to excess; but, as was remarked by one of the Anglo-Indian papers—*

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* *The Daily News*, December 28th, 1886.

"The utmost unanimity, enthusiasm, and sympathy prevailed among all present, numbering some 2,000* or more, representing all classes of the community in India, from the four points of the compass."

No one who witnessed this vast gathering, one of the greatest ever known in Calcutta, will ever forget it. To not a few, in startling contrast with the present scene, arose a remembrance of another vast gathering of representative men from all parts of the Empire—the Delhi Assemblage. But how different the two scenes! There, crowds of Princes, girt with all the glamour of martial glory, the blare of trumpets, the thunder of artillery—there, the richest robes that the looms of Asia and Europe could evolve, a blaze of jewels, countless and priceless, set in a gorgeous amphitheatre;—here only the ringing, heart-wrung cheers of honest citizens, soberly clad, amid the squalid surroundings of a dingy, barn-like hall. There, the representatives dragged together, grumbling, by an Imperial ukase, here spontaneously hurrying up from the most distant provinces *in eager mutual rivalry in the good work. There the object of the gathering,* the celebration of an addition to the titles of our Gracious Sovereign, here the inauguration of a new era and the public assertion of the claims of two *hundred millions of that Sovereign's subjects, to some, at least, of those rights and* privileges which are the indefeasible birthright of every free-born British *citizen.*

Posterity will lightly put aside all remembrance of Delhi's somewhat theatrical *tableau*, but will dwell with ever-increasing reverence, as the years roll by, on the record of this great Congress, as marking a distinct step in the progress of a mighty, though still infant, nationality.

Preparatory to the election of a president, the world-known archæologist and scholar, Dr. Rajendralala Mittra, was unanimously voted to the Chair. In a long and able speech† Dr. Mittra cordially welcomed the assembled delegates in the name of the citizens of Calcutta; it had been, he said, the dream of his life that the scattered units of his race might some day re-unite, and that instead of living merely as individuals they might some day grow to live as a nation, and he beheld in this Congress the dawn of that better and happier day for India. He vindicated the Congress from the foolish attempts that had been made to fix upon it charges, of indicating a distrust of the Government, or of seeking to force its hand, and rebuked those who for selfish ends had endeavoured, though vainly, to mar the success of the gathering. He insisted on the reconstitution and reformation of the Legislative Councils as the most important of all the subjects to which the Congress could direct its attention, dwelt upon the notorious incapacity of too large a proportion of the selected Indian Members of these Councils, showed that already in the past the Government itself had made two distinct steps in advance in its system of enacting laws, and that there could not possibly therefore now be anything disloyal or unbecoming in urging Government to make, now that the country was fully ripe for it, yet a further reform in that system.

"At present," he said—

"We want only one step forward: for nomination by the authorities, nomination in any case of an irresponsible character, we want election by those whom the elected are to represent. This is the primary object of our agitation with regard to the Legislative Councils. Let the representatives be elected. Let the system be whatever the Government in its wisdom may think proper, but let the policy be a policy of representation, and let there be a sufficient number of representatives to make the feelings and wants of the people fully heard by the Government. We live, not under a National Government, but under a foreign bureaucracy; our foreign rulers are foreigners by birth, religion, language, habits, by everything that divides humanity into different sections. They cannot possibly dive into our hearts; they cannot ascertain our wants, our feelings, our aspirations. They may try their best, and I have no reason to doubt that many of our Governors have tried hard to ascertain our feelings and our wants; but owing to their peculiar position, they have failed to ascertain them. Therefore, what we want is to have a sufficient number of men to represent the people, each bringing his quota of knowledge of the requirements of a particular section of the community."

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* As subsequent calculations have shown fully 3,000 not 2,000 persons must have been present.

† This and all the other speeches will be found reported at length in the detailed report of the proceedings of the Congress, *infra* pages 47-50.

He went on to insist on the concession to such elected councillors of the right of interpellation, and after glancing at the Public Service Commission concluded by urging moderation, alike in speeches and in projects, and calling on the assembly to elect a President.

This speech was received throughout, as it deserved to be, with great applause, and the enthusiasm of the meeting grew more and more marked when the great landed proprietor Baboo Joykissen Mookerjee rose to propose the Hon'ble Dadabhai Naoroji as President. Baboo Joykissen had ever had the reputation of being a strict landlord, a man of great ability and independence of character, but a typical Conservative, and that he, an old man, blind and trembling with age, should have come forth from his retirement to head and encourage this new liberal movement was a sign of the changed times in which we are living that could not escape even the dullest-witted of the spectators. The Anglo-Indian papers had been crying down the Congress as a group of Radical schoolboys and needy political adventurers, and here was the Nestor of the Bengal Conservatives, beside whose broad acres many a ducal heritage sinks into pettiness, supported by the millionaires of India's metropolis, Baboos Dourga Charan Law, Juddoo Lall Mullick and many others, actually foremost in this demonstration, that British rule and British education have, thus far, nobly performed the task allotted to them by Providence, and have wakened in a slumbering people the instinct of nationality and the aspiration for political enfranchisement.

No wonder that the old man's trembling form and feeble accents were greeted with a tempest of cheers, or that (to anticipate) when later at the close of the President's inaugural address, he concluded a second short speech—

"Standing as I do, one of the few remaining links between the old India of the past and the new India of to-day, I can scarcely hope to see or enjoy the fruit of those labours on which this Congress and the nation it represents is entering, but I am glad to have lived to see this new departure, and if an old man's sympathy and good wishes can aid or encourage you in the noble work you are undertaking, I can say from the bottom of my heart that that sympathy and those good wishes are already yours. Be wise, be moderate and above all be persevering, and the success that you will then deserve will assuredly be yours"—no wonder, we say, that the enthusiasm of the vast crowd rose to a pitch never before witnessed, it is believed, even in that hall of a thousand meetings.

To return : The Nawab Reza Ali Khan, Bahadur, of Lucknow, speaking in *Urdu*, seconded* Baboo Joykissen's nomination of Mr. Dadabhai as President, and proceeded indignantly and eloquently to deny that the Mahomedans were holding aloof from, or lacked sympathy with, the Congress, concluding his speech amidst vociferous cheering with the following words : " The Association that has done us the honour of deputing us is largely composed of leading Mahomedans, Nawabs, Wasekadars, Political Pensioners, and scions of the once Royal House of Oudh, and I assure you that our Association and my brother Mahomedans, generally, of Oudh, will utterly repudiate and condemn any unworthy attempt to create dissensions in our ranks by unfounded statements as to our supposed want of sympathy with the present movement. Hindus or Mahomedans, Parsees or Sikhs, we are one people *now*, whatever our ancestors six or eight hundred years ago may have been, and our public interests are indivisible and identical. Gentlemen, I pray you disregard any such slanders ; we Mahomedans (at least such of us as can think at all) think just as all thinking Hindus do on these public questions, and believe me when I say that you will ever find us side by side with you in every legal constitutional endeavour to raise the political status of the people of our common home and country."

Mr. Hamid Ali Khan, Barrister-at-Law, briefly rendered in English the purport of this eloquent speech, and on his own behalf emphatically denied† the existence of any want of sympathy with the National Reform Party on the part of the Mahomedans of Upper India.

Mr. Dadabhai's election as President having then been carried by acclamation, that gentleman took the chair, and then rising addressed the meeting.

Thanking‡ the delegates for the honor done him, he dwelt upon the immense importance of the assemblage, pointed out how impracticable any such representative and all class-and-creed-embracing meeting would have been under *any* previous *régime*, Hindu or Mahomedan, and asserted that it was under British rule, and British rule alone, that such a national gathering was possible. He dwelt upon the many and great blessings for which India is indebted to British rule, and ridiculed the idea of an assemblage, every member of which vividly realized the greatness of those blessings, harbouring any purpose inimical to that rule, and showed that (however irresponsible persons might misrepresent the case) our rulers here and in England do appreciate and rely on our loyalty and common sense, and neither resent, nor take alarm at, our growing political activity. Then referring to the Jubilee year, and speaking, amidst rapturous applause, in terms of the most affectionate devotion to our Gracious Queen-Empress, he proceeded to vindicate the Congress from the reproaches hurled at it from certain quarters, for not including in its discussions questions of Social Reform. He pointed out that these reproaches were absolutely groundless; that there were times and places for everything ; that the Congress was a political body met together to represent to our rulers our political aspirations, and that you might as well blame the House of Commons for not discussing the abstruser problems of metaphysics as this Congress for not discussing social problems. He went on to show that, composed as the Congress was of men of all castes and creeds, it was simply impossible for it to pretend to handle such topics.

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* *Vide* detailed Report, page 51.
† *Vide* detailed Report, page 51.
‡ *Vide* detailed Report, page 52.

"How," he said, "can this gathering of *all* classes discuss the Social Reforms needed in each individual class? What do any of us know of the internal home-life, of the traditions, customs, feelings, prejudices of any class but his own? How could a cosmopolitan gathering like this discuss to any purpose the reforms needed in any one class? Only the members, of that class can effectively deal with the reforms therein needed. A National Congress must confine itself to questions in which the entire nation has a direct participation, and it must leave the adjustment of Social Reforms, and other class questions, to class Congresses. But it does not follow because this National Political body, as such, does not presume to discuss Social Reforms, that the delegates here present are not just as deeply, nay, in many cases far *more* deeply, interested in those questions, than in those political questions which we *do* discuss, or that those several communities, which these delegates represent, are not doing their utmost to solve those complicated problems on which hinge the practical introduction of those reforms. Any man who has eyes and ears open must know what struggles, towards higher and better things, are going on in every community. And it could not be otherwise with the noble education we are receiving. Once you begin to think about your own actions, your duties and responsibilities to yourself, your neighbour and your nation, you cannot avoid looking round and discerning much that is wrong amongst you. And we know, as a fact, that each community is now doing its best according to its lights and the progress that it has made in education. The Mahomedans know how much is being done by persons of their community to push on the education their brethren so much need; the Hindus are everywhere doing what they can to reform those social institutions which they think require improvement. There is not a single community, here represented, of which the best and ablest men do not feel that much has to be done to improve the social, moral and religious status of their brethren, and in which, as a fact, they are not striving to effect gradually those needful improvements; but these are essentially matters too delicate for a stranger's handling—matters which must be left to the guidance of those who alone fully understand them in all their bearings, and which are wholly unsuited to discussion in an assemblage like this, in which men of all classes, creeds and castes are intermingled."

He then glanced at the resolutions passed at the first Congress and showed that some progress had been made.

"We should therefore," he said, "persevere, having confidence in the conscience of England and resting assured that the English nation will grudge no sacrifice to prove the sincerity of their desire to do whatever is just and right."

He deprecated any distrust of Lord Dufferin's intentions (which he believed to be in the highest degree noble, and in sympathy with our aspirations), or of the results of the Public Service Commission.

Recalling the noble words of the Act of 1833:—

"That no Native of the said territories (India) nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty, resident therein shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour

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or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the said Company." (*Act 3 and 4 Wm. 4, c. 85, s. 87*) he said :—

"We do not, we *could* not, ask for more than this, and all we have to press upon the Commission and Government is, that they should now honestly grant us in practice here, what Great Britain freely conceded to us 50 years ago, when we, ourselves, were too little enlightened even to *ask* for it."

He went on to refer to the proclamation of 1858, granted of free grace in the hour of triumph "which we should for ever prize and reverence as *our Magna Charta*," which he did not repeat, "for it is engraven on all your hearts," and which "embodied the germs of all that we aim at now, of all that we can desire hereafter." "We had only," he said, "to go before the Government, and the Commission now sitting, and repeat that proclamation and say that all we *want* is only what has already been granted to us in set terms by that proclamation, and that all we now *ask* for is, that the great and generous concessions therein made to us, in words, shall now actually be made ours by deeds."

He touched lightly on the question of representative institutions so fully dealt with by Dr. Mittra, only insisting that they had become necessary as much, or more, in the interests of our rulers themselves, as in those of their subjects. Then he referred to the great poverty of our immense population, which he contended no longer could be, or was, denied by competent authorities, and pointed out that if a proper system of representation was granted to us, we should be in a position to bring about the necessary remedies for this most terrible of all evils, the poverty of the masses.

"All the benefits," he said, "that we have derived from British rule, all the noble projects of our British rulers, will go for nothing if after all the country is to continue sinking deeper and deeper into this abyss of destitution." "It has become," he went on a little later to say, "the right as well as the duty of this Congress to set forth its convictions, both as to this widespread destitution and the primary steps needful for its alleviation. Nothing is more dear to the heart of England, and I speak from actual knowledge, than India's welfare ; and if we only speak out loud enough and persistently enough to reach that busy heart, we shall not speak in vain." Then with a caution as to moderation he resumed his seat. Throughout, the speech was interrupted, at the close of almost every period, by the most enthusiastic cheers, showing how thoroughly the speaker's words were going home to the hearts, not only of his brother delegates, but of the vast crowd of educated listeners that thronged every portion of the great Hall.

Baboo Joy Kissen Mookerjee, as already noticed, then made a second brief speech.* And after a large number of telegrams of sympathy and congratulation from all parts of the Empire (Appendix IV) had been laid on the table and one from the Mahomedans of Hyderabad read, a vote of thanks to the Chair was proposed by Maharajah Sir Jotendro Mohun Tagore and responded to by the entire meeting, which, rising, gave a prolonged succession of cheers for the Queen-Empress, and also cheers for the Viceroy, and then separated.

In the evening a large party was given at the Town Hall to welcome the delegates. It was largely attended and included many of the ablest and most distinguished members of the Indian community ; but although invitations had been sent to the majority of the leading official and non-official Europeans, only Messrs. H. L. Harrison, H. J. S. Cotton, J. Wilson, and at most a dozen more or less well known gentlemen graced the party with their presence. The apparent want of sympathy exhibited by the bulk of the Europeans of Calcutta (so different to what is the case at Bombay) with the noble efforts now being made by the Indian community to secure, by constitutional means, their political enfranchisement—efforts which cannot but earn the respect and support of every true British heart, uncontaminated by the traditions of the despotic system under which we here live,—is greatly to be regretted, though, perhaps—the ordinary run of men being so entirely the creatures of their environment as they are—scarcely to be wondered at.

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* *Vide* page 57 of detailed Report.

The Congress re-assembled the next day (28th December, 1886) at the Rooms of the British Indian Association.

The transaction of real business in the Town Hall, where the delegates were pressed in, on all sides, by a crowd of some 2,500 deeply sympathising listeners, seemed impossible. With such huge numbers in a bare stone-walled hall, even the involuntary movements and mutual whisperings of the audience produced a dull continuous hum like that of waves on a shingly beach, while every moment, when any sentiment they approved caught their ears, and often apparently in sheer exuberance of sympathy, their applause rolled through the hall, literally drowning everything. This might do for an inaugural meeting with a short-hand writer sitting at the speaker's feet, but for anything approaching to real discussion it was not to be thought of. Hence it had been decided, at the close of the first meeting, to hold the next at some place where only a limited number of spectators (as in the Strangers' Gallery of the House of Commons) could accommodate themselves. Again, the only other hall available, that of the British Indian Association, barely afforded space in the body of the hall, for the delegates, packed with a closeness that set all sanitary laws at defiance, and it was simply impossible to make room for any table at which the many reporters for the Press could sit, except in the side passage to which the public were admitted, a place quite unsuited to their purposes, and so only one reporter, the best short-hand writer available, was admitted, who was placed at the President's small table, touching which, all round, the delegates, as elsewhere in the hall, were closely crowded.

These seem trivial details to notice, but on the one hand the local Indian public were a good deal dissatisfied at being deprived of what they looked upon as their legitimate share in the proceedings, and on the other some of the leading Anglo-Indian newspapers seized upon the occasion to declare that the Congress was sitting with closed doors ; that it was afraid to have its sayings and doings made public and the like ; whereas, throughout, the meetings were open to the public, and as many admitted as could find standing room, and every word spoken was being recorded, so far as one short-hand writer (who did his work extremely well) could succeed in accomplishing this.

The first business taken up was a resolution whereby the Congress offered "its dutiful and loyal congratulations" to Her Majesty "on the approaching completion of the first half century of her memorable, beneficent and glorious reign," and heartily wished her "many, many more, and happy, years of rule over the great British Empire." The unmistakably genuine enthusiasm and delight with which this motion was received and carried, and the prolonged and resounding cheers for the Queen-Empress with which the announcement of this latter fact by the President was greeted, indicated at the very outset those strong feelings of loyalty to, and love for, our Sovereign which pervaded the entire proceedings from first to last.

The next resolution touched upon that most momentous question,—which, in the present day, agitates the minds of all thinking men in India—the growing impoverishment of the population. It set forth the deep sympathy and grave apprehension with which the Congress regarded this sad fact; and, while acknowledging that the Government was not overlooking the matter and was contemplating certain palliative measures, recorded the fixed conviction of the country that one of the most important practical steps that could be taken towards the amelioration of the condition of the people was the introduction of representative institutions.

A long and very interesting discussion ensued ; no single delegate doubted or questioned in any way the fact of the extreme poverty of the masses ; delegate after delegate from every single province and sub-province of the Empire testified to the great destitution which prevailed amongst the lower classes in their own portions of the country. A few, a very few, contended that there was no sufficient evidence that this poverty was at the present time *increasing*, and desired to omit this word from the resolution, but this view was scouted by the assembly, and the amendment rejected by an overwhelming majority. But there were an appreciable number who desired to set forth other reforms as practical steps towards the amelioration of the condition of the people, which should be taken in conjunction with the introduction of representative institutions.

One of these was a permanent settlement, but the proposal was negatived; not because there were not a large number present who favoured such a settlement, but because most of these understood that this and all special remedies were beside the purpose of the resolution, which insisted on a change in the form of the administration as the only measure which would render it possible for the country to insist, effectively, on the application of all the various remedies necessary.

For the same reason an amendment, proposing that the wider employment of the natives of India and the encouragement of indigenous trade and manufactures, be included along with the introduction of representative institutions as important steps towards the amelioration of the condition of the people, was rejected by a large majority. The whole discussion deserves perusal, but certain of the remarks of some of the speakers may be specially referred to here. The proposer, Mr. Edulji Watcha, after glancing at the condition of the peasantry in the various Presidencies, said :* "Thus on all sides and in all provinces we seem to be met with the sad fact of the impoverished condition of the masses, and the one question is how to improve this condition. Of course there are exceptionally favoured tracts, but broadly speaking, and taking the Empire as a whole, the produce of the land is scarcely sufficient to enable those who till it, and they constitute the bulk of the population, to meet the assessment (whether this be assessed by Government or some intermediate landholder) and eke out the barest existence, leaving no margin for carrying out any agricultural improvements or developments, all of which require an outlay of capital. It is said that the ryots themselves are partly to blame; that they are ignorant and improvident and spend whatever little money they chance, in good seasons, to acquire in marriage ceremonies and *tamashas* (merry-makings). This may be true, to some slight extent, but as a cause of the widespread destitution that exists, this want of thrift is insignificant as compared with the real cause, *viz.*, the extremely small share of the produce of their labours left to the actual tillers of the soil either by Government, or by superior holders, under the existing Government revenue systems. The mainstay of Indian Finance, however, is the Land Revenue. No material reduction in this can be contemplated: Landholders, too, have vested rights which cannot be confiscated or their existing rents materially cut down. The only alternative lies in increasing the produce of the soil, and this is only possible by the expenditure everywhere of capital on the land, in minute fractions doubtless in each case, but in large masses in the aggregate. But how is this possible when year by year the bulk of the profits of the entire population are drained away in the tribute to Great Britain? Exported to fructify there and swell further the unparalleled wealth of those distant isles, never in any shape to return here to bless the country from whose soil it was extracted, or the people, the sweat of whose brows it represents. Here is the essence of the question: this tribute must be reduced—if we had it, we would not grudge Great Britain her profit on the connection between us, to which we owe so much. But we have it not; the masses here, to nearly double the number of the entire population of Great Britain, are starving, or nearly so, for the want of that capital which we have not, and she must not thus, for ever, go on despoiling us, year by year, of that small capital which our toiling millions succeed in creating during the twelve months of ceaseless labour. One of the very first and most important of remedies is to minimize the foreign agency now employed in the administration and defence of the country, so that the money, spent unavoidably for these purposes, shall remain in it to grow and multiply and bless the land, and not, as now, to a very large extent, be drafted away to England. Unless and until this question of foreign agency is solved, the question of the poverty of our masses will not be solved either." Then, after pointing out that, so far from decreasing, the home charges, military and civil, were year by year increasing, that the tribute included not only all these but all the savings annually remitted by Europeans in service in India, merchants' profits, loss by exchange, &c., amounting, according to Sir R. Temple, to something like 30 millions a year, he went on to say:—

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* *Vide* page 61 of detailed Report.

"Whatever may be the difference between the cost of tilling and the value of the produce of the soil, no country can prosper, so long as such an enormous annual drain on that difference, which ought to be accumulating in the country, is going on. This is what gives such enormous importance to the question of foreign agency. But, of course, immensely important as it is, this reduction of foreign agency is not the only reform in the administration necessary if the people are to be lifted out of the slough of poverty into which they are sinking, and placed once more on the firm ground of comfort and prosperity. But neither this reduction of foreign agency nor, indeed, any of those other needful reforms do we see the slightest hopes of getting carried out, until we succeed in attaining a position whence our protests and appeals must be respectfully listened to, and either fairly met or practically yielded to, and it is in this sense that our resolution sets forth our "fixed conviction that the introduction of representative institutions will prove one of the most important practical steps towards the amelioration of the condition of the people."

Then, after insisting further on this point, he went on :—

"Where representative institutions are once established there the Government, even though a Government of foreigners, can be drawn into the right track, but so long as a purely autocratic system prevails, and the autocrats are foreigners, the case seems hopeless."

Following and supporting him, the Hon'ble S. Subramania Iyer incidentally deprecated the ryotwari system, saying :* "It may be that the zemindars, as is believed by some, do, in some cases, screw out every farthing that they can from their tenants, but the zemindars, as we have seen, can be reached by a Tenancy Act, whereas in the Presidency of Madras it is impossible to control by any Tenancy Act the extortions of the revenue authorities. I should like to see a Government servant on our side of India, who is prepared to admit that the right of enhancement ought to be defined and limited by legislative enactment as against the Government."

Pandit Pran Nath of Lucknow, after dwelling on the poverty of the masses in that province, "which has been called the Garden of India, where no famine has ever been known," went on to say† : "If the Governments, local and supreme, included some substantial representative element—if they were thus in a position to have any real knowledge of the actual state of affairs amongst us—perhaps the country would not be so poor as it actually is. I do not mean that the mere fact of our having representatives in the Council would work any direct miracle, but that the pressure that these would then be in a position to put upon Government would incline it to mend its ways and adopt those reforms which can alone arrest the impoverishment of the land."

"It is only reasonable to suppose that the educated natives of India know the ins and outs of their own country better than foreigners, who visit it only for a short time, and that they are alike more competent, than these, to suggest, more anxious to discover, and more capable of applying the remedies demanded for that poverty, which has in fact been admitted by the Government, which is patent to every one of us here and to every Indian capable of observation, and which, as matters now stand, bids fair, in the course of one or two generations more, utterly and hopelessly to destroy the country."

Munshi Sadho Lall, a Banker and Reis of Benares, very strongly supported the resolution in a most eloquent Urdu speech,‡ some passages of which deserve special notice.

"I know," he said, "that this growing poverty depends upon many causes, but the most important of these have a common source, and that is what the papers call loss of touch between the Government and the people. I am not one of those who run down the Government. I am sure the Government does its best

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* *Vide* page 62 of detailed Report.
† *Vide* page 63 of detailed Report.
‡ *Vide* page 63 of detailed Report.

—but its best, even though better in many ways than the best of all preceding Governments, is yet not good enough for the age in which we live. And this is only because the Government, being composed of Europeans, is unable thoroughly to understand the circumstances of India, and never knows, nor can know, what really wants doing, and above all how best to do what has to be done. We, who do know, are not taken into Council, not because the Government does not wish to do right, not because it desires to oppress us, but because it is not the practice at present to associate us in the administration."

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"That the poverty of the masses is increasing every day cannot be disputed by any man past middle age, who has for only 20 years, even, been watching such matters, and certainly one cause of this increasing poverty is the manner in which the production of most of the manufactured necessaries of life, clothing, tools, implements, &c., has been diverted from the hands of our countrymen into those of foreign manufacturers. I do think that, with a considerable body of our own people in the several councils, means would be found to revive our ancient and establish new industries, so that as time went on all our requirements in this line should be supplied to us by our own artizans, and the enormous profits of this gigantic work reaped by our own people. I am aware that this is a difficult matter, and it is therefore that I pick it out, and say that, granting this is the most difficult of all the causes of our growing poverty to grapple with, even this would be able to be more or less successfully dealt with, if only we were so placed as to be able to guide rightly and wisely the action of Government."

Another speaker,* Lalla Hukum Chand, of Lahore, while declaring that the decay of indigenous industries was "not so much the fault of the English as our own fault" put the case for representative Government very tersely. "No doubt," he said, "some form of representative Government *is* required on all grounds. In every case before a Court of Justice both sides are heard, and each side has the opportunity of proving to the Judge the justice of his own cause. Here it is a Court of injustice. Government has it all its own way, and we have no one to plead for us and controvert the arbitrary claims of the Government. They surround themselves with people who just repeat their opinions, and so nothing can be done for the good of the country and its people, who suffer in every way because they are never heard before the Court."

Row Bahadur A. Subapathy Mudaliar, a Madras merchant, while supporting the demand for representative institutions, remarked† : "We all attribute the poverty of India to the mismanagement of our Rulers, and no doubt it is to a considerable extent due to that cause, but much blame also attaches to ourselves. We allow the English to beat us in competition in everything that we use; from a toothpick to a steamer, every branch of trade is, through our want of energy, monopolized by Europeans." And he concluded his speech by saying : "Our late beloved Viceroy, Lord Ripon, ordered the purchase of country-made in preference to European goods, and yet, on account of the greater energy of the Europeans, many articles can be obtained more cheaply and of better quality from Europe than they can be at present produced here. Even if we had the complete control of everything in our own hands, we could not desire Indian manufactures to be purchased by the State at a higher price than is demanded for equally good English articles of the same kind. That would not be just to the interests of our nation. It is, therefore, necessary and desirable that, in addition to all political reforms, we should devote our best attention to the improvement of the industries of the country. It is true that this has nothing directly to do with the immediate objects of this Congress, but I think it ought to be clearly understood that too much must not be expected from representative institutions, and that the improvement of our national industries and the development of our commerce and trade, by our own exertions, are amongst the greatest necessities of India of the present day."

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* *Vide* page 64 of detailed Report.

† *Vide* page 65 of detailed Report.

Pundit Jwalanath Sarma, in pressing the necessity of representation, urged* that "representative institutions will give due scope for the exercise of our own energies, and whatever we achieve by their means, will satisfy us. It is not the wish to have representative institutions merely to obtain power, but to put us in the way of doing good for ourselves and to foster habits of thinking and acting for ourselves."

The various amendments already referred to were then proposed, and more or less discussed, but their want of relevancy was strongly insisted on by Baboo Guru Prasad Sen of Patna who said† : "But if I have understood the real meaning of the resolution, it does not mean to say that the larger employment of natives, the encouragement of trade, or, I may add, the reduction of military expenditure and the revision of existing revenue systems, are not, one and all, important reforms which will greatly tend to improve the condition of the people, *but it signifies that we have little chance of securing these or any other reforms, until we can bring the lever of representative institutions to bear on the bureaucracy that now holds everything in its hands.*" Mr. S. K. Chatterjee of Meerut emphasized the position saying‡ : "We don't say that that (representative Government) is the only thing required, but we do know that, if we get that, it will not be long before we get those other reforms that are necessary." And after a little further discussion the original resolution was carried by a very large majority.

The next resolution emphatically re-affirmed the third resolution of the Congress of 1885, and declared that the reforms therein suggested had "now become essential alike in the interests of India and England." The resolution thus re-affirmed ran as follows :—

"That this Congress considers the reform and expansion of the Supreme and existing local Legislative Councils, by the admission of a considerable proportion of elected members (and the creation of similar Councils for the N. W. Provinces and Oudh, and also for the Punjab) essential ; and holds that all Budgets should be referred to these Councils for consideration, their members being moreover empowered to interpellate the Executive in regard to all branches of the administration ; and that a Standing Committee of the House of Commons should be constituted to receive and consider any formal protests that may be recorded by majorities of such Councils against the exercise by the Executive of the power, which would be vested in it, of overruling the decisions of such majorities."

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* *Vide* page 66 of detailed Report.
† *Vide* page 68 of detailed Report.
‡ *Vide* page 68 of detailed Report.

The most absolute unanimity prevailed on this subject. It was pointed out that, since that Congress, this resolution had "been placed before and adopted by all the Associations throughout the country, while literally hundreds of public meetings in every portion of the Empire have declared it to represent correctly the views of the entire nation.[*]" Again it was said: "The voice of India has already declared that this resolution must be re-affirmed, and re-affirmed until its substance becomes the law of the land. There is no backward step here, now possible, for any of us. All the Associations, I may say the entire population from one end of India to the other, have been consulted on the subject, and all our countrymen, high and low, have declared that these are their wishes, this the goal at which they aim. This resolution has been accepted throughout India, and not one single Indian voice in the entire Empire has been raised against it; * * * it is simply formally re-affirming in words a resolution that the entire country has already engraved upon its heart.[†] Pundit Thakur Prasad (of Agra) in an Urdu speech, the whole of which merits careful consideration, said[‡]: "There is not a corner in the country where folks have not talked over that resolution, and said it was good. Every man who knows anything, whether he be an English speaker, or like myself knows only Indian languages, knows at least this, that if the country is to prosper, we its children who understand its ways and wants must be allowed a share, and a good share, in the management of its public affairs."

A very effective Urdu speech[§] was delivered by Malik Bhugwan Dass, from Dera Ismail Khan, a stalwart frontier man whose eloquence little needed his opening apology that he came from a land where men handled the sword more readily than the pen. He ridiculed the idea that the Congress was the work of Bengali Baboos; he had come 1,600 miles to join the Congress, and proud as he should be of being a Bengali Baboo, the most highly educated class in India, did *he* look like a Bengali Baboo? He said that the Anglo-Indian papers, like the *Pioneer* and the *Civil and Military Gazette*, wanted to persuade people that the martial races of the frontier had no interest in political questions. "Backward," he said, "we may be, but it is absurd to suppose that we Punjabis, even we frontier people, are altogether ignorant of such matters, or fail to sympathize in the work which this Congress is endeavouring to get done. What, gentlemen, would they make out that God, the Almighty Father, has not endowed us with human reason, but has left us incapable of knowing what is good for us and what is bad, of feeling how unjust to us are many things in existing arrangements, of realizing that the first thing necessary if that injustice is to be done away with, is that we should have a strong voice in the management of our country's, of our own, affairs?" Later he enumerated several distinguished men whom his own little town had produced, the last of whom, he said, was utterly opposed to the late Cabul war and prophesied accurately its results; twenty crores spent and spent for nothing. "There is not," he went on to say, "a district, not a town, that does not contain many such or better men, and do you suppose that many of them are greatly pleased with a form of administration which denies to ninety-nine out of every hundred of them any career; or that any of them fail to see that representative institutions and a much larger employment of Indians in the higher offices of State would be important steps towards the opening they want?" When later he wound up with the words "and while I say may God prosper British rule in India for ever, I also say may he give our rulers wisdom to understand the reasonableness of our demands for reform and the magnanimity to concede what we ask for," he received a perfect ovation.

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[*] Speech of Mr. Ganasham Nilkanth (*Bombay, No. 53*), page 70 of detailed Report.

[†] Speech of Row Sahib S. Narayana Swami Chetty (*Nellore, No. 19*), page 71 of detailed Report.

[‡] Page 71 of detailed Report.

[§] Page 72 of detailed Report.

Not a dissentient voice was raised, not the faintest hint of any difference of opinion was expressed, and the resolution was carried unanimously amidst enthusiastic cheering.

The next business before the Congress was the appointment of a Committee to consider the Public Service Question. A long and very animated discussion took place. Some delegates seemed to be of opinion that as a Government Commission was investigating the matter, the case was, as it were, *sub-judice*, and should not, therefore, be touched by the Congress. Others held that, as the Commission required evidence, no better evidence of the views generally entertained could be anywhere procured than the conclusions of such a large and truely representative body as the Congress. Again, differences of opinion existed as to whether the Committee, if appointed, should report direct to the Commission in the name of the Congress, or to the Congress for the consideration, and if approved, confirmation by this latter. To the first alternative Dr. Rajendralala Mittra objected, and in an amusing speech protested against the Congress appointing a set of *akulbardars* (or wisdom-bearers) like certain imbecile princes and nobles, who, besides their *hookhabardars* (or pipe-bearers) are always accompanied by some shrewd person (ironically termed an *akulbardar*) who replies or suggests the answers to any remarks addressed to their chief. He said that if that was to be the way they did their work of thinking by deputy, the delegates might have saved themselves their long journey and might have merely written from their homes to say: Do whatever you like and we will say ditto. *Per contra*, Pundit Satyanand Agnihotri, the well-known Brahmo missionary of Lahore, argued that the question had been discussed in all circles for years; that on most points perfect unanimity existed; that the men selected were these, for the most part, known to be specially versed in the subject; and that if the Congress could not place confidence in the doings of such a Committee there was an end of representative Government. "For," said he, "what is representation if we may not have a number of *akulbardars* in whom we have confidence. Any one who pleases may make a joke of *akulbardars*, but what are the members of the English House of Commons but the *akulbardars* of the people of England."

Ultimately it was resolved to appoint a Committee that should report upon the question to the Congress at its last sitting, and the Congress adjourned until the next day.

The British Indian Association Rooms having proved too small to contain, with any degree of comfort, the large body of delegates, the meeting of the 29th took place at the Town Hall, but the sitting being an early morning one, and the public not having generally heard of the change in the place of meeting, only between four and five hundred spectators were present, and the majority of these only arrived towards the close of the proceedings, so that no inconvenience of any kind was experienced, and business was proceeded with under most satisfactory conditions.

Four important resolutions, relating to reforms in the administration of criminal justice were discussed and passed, and, as a large proportion of the delegates were lawyers, many of them with a large amount of criminal business, the conclusions arrived at are deserving of attention. The first was that the time had arrived for giving a great extension to the jury system, which as yet has been only applied to a limited number of districts. The excellent character of the verdicts given, as a rule, was testified to by gentlemen who were public prosecutors, barristers, pleaders and attorneys. It was pointed out that the jury system was indigenous in India and had been in force there from time immemorial, and that the spread of education had now almost everywhere provided an abundance of qualified jurors. One speaker* instanced the number of gentlemen sitting on Municipal Committees, local and district boards, as a proof of this fact, and went on to say: "But this Congress seems to me to furnish a conclusive reply to this pretence of a paucity of qualified jurors. Here we are gathered together to the number of nearly five hundred men from almost every single district in the Empire, each of us elected, at least, by hundreds, in many cases by thousands, in some few cases by tens of thousands, of our countrymen, one and all sufficiently enlightened to take the keenest interest in public affairs, and sufficiently independent to make a public avowal of that interest, notwithstanding the frowns of many in authority. Is there here any want of materials for good juries? Manifestly these old objections have melted away; they may have had weight in the past, but in the present day they are only official fictions." By all speakers a distrust of the manner in which justice was administered by district officials of the present day was manifested, and the political aspect of the question was touched upon. Rao Sahib Singaraju V. Subboroyudu remarked†: "Some political life is now becoming manifest amongst us. In political discussions expressions are unavoidably used which give offence to political opponents—in our case mainly the bureaucracy. We desire to obtain certain rights, as we consider them, and declare it monstrous that these should be withheld from us; on the other hand those who now enjoy what we wish to secure, consider our attempts to get their places and oust them, monstrous, and out of such natural differences of view, a tendency grows up for the existence of strained relations between the non-official public and the district authorities. Hence, on this ground as on others, it is highly necessary that our rights, our privileges, our personal liberty, should be carefully safe-guarded by the general adoption of the system of trial by jury."

One gentleman only, from the Punjab, deprecated the extension of the jury system there, saying‡: "Trial by jury as a system is a double-edged thing. It is very useful where you have honest and independent jurors, but a curse where the contrary is the case. For the verdict of a jury, however unjust, if in consonance with the views of the local bureaucracy, is final. There is no getting behind a conviction thus obtained. Where the local official passes an unjust sentence there is a chance of obtaining redress from higher authorities, but where such sentence is based upon a verdict of ignorant and obsequious jurors there is no hope of justice. Now I do not think that the Punjab can furnish many of the right stamp of jurors ; the district officers are too powerful and overbearing, and therefore I submit that our province is not ripe for the general extension of trial by jury. The jurymen will be selected by the local officials, and they will choose the *ap ke wastes*,* and bad as things are now, they will be worse I fear under the jury system." But another gentleman† from the same province strongly opposed this view saying : " I came to attend this Congress, released, on bail, from a jail by the chief court, to which jail I had been sent by an unjust decision of a magistrate who could never have got any jury to convict me. You are most of you familiar with the case, through the public prints. The charge against me was utterly frivolous and false, that of attending an unlawful assembly, the facts being, first that the assembly was *not* unlawful‡ ; and, second, that, whether lawful or the reverse, I had not attended it, but, simply, because I am considered a political agitator, because I have my own opinions and speak without fear, I was as a matter of—call it what you like—convicted, not on weak evidence, but on absolutely no evidence at all." Later he went on to say that he neither understood the arguments nor concurred in the facts of his friend who opposed the extension of the jury system in the Punjab. "I doubt," he said, " whether there are many, if any, districts in the Punjab, where excellent materials for juries do not exist. I can only say that, in all the parts of the province with which I am acquainted, I would far rather be tried by any jury that could be got together, than by most of the local magistrates of whom I have had any experience. From my own experience—and I have been practising for more than 12 years—I can say that accused persons do not get that fair and impartial trial before magistrates which they would get in a trial by jury." This seemed to be the unanimous view of the Congress, and the resolution was passed without a dissentient voice.

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* Rao Sahib M. B. Namjoshi (*Poona, No. 69*). Page 82 of detailed Report.
† *Vide* detailed Report, page 81.
‡ Lala Kunhya Lal (*Punjab, No. 104*). Detailed Report, page 79.

The second resolution advanced this question one step further, and urged the introduction into the Criminal Procedure Code of a provision (similar to that contained in the Summary Jurisdiction Act of England), enabling accused persons, in warrant cases, to demand that, instead of being tried by the magistrate, they be committed to the Court of Sessions. The resolution was proposed by Mr. Mano Mohan Ghose, a Barrister, with probably the largest practice in all India in criminal cases. There was only one opinion as to the absolute necessity of this reform. Both, during the discussion of this and the previous resolution, the youth and inexperience of many of the officers invested with first class magisterial powers, by whom three-fourths of the more serious cases are disposed of, were pointed out, and the grievous failures of justice that occurred from this cause and from the fact of district officers taking advantage of their judicial powers to punish persons who had given them offence in their executive capacities, were insisted on.

Mr. T. Chidambara Row said§ : "Magistrates of the first class, often quite young and inexperienced officers, are invested with extraordinary powers: they can sentence to imprisonment for two years and to a fine of Rs. 1,000; and unless those powers are restricted in some way, and we are given some protection against their arbitrary misuse, our liberties will remain, as now, at the mercy of men often far from competent, from a legal point of view, to exercise these great powers, and occasionally devoid even of that conscientiousness that in former days was the characteristic of British officers. Moreover, in many cases of imprisonment (in all below a certain term), there is no appeal, and some magistrates take advantage of this and pass minor sentences in order that the unfortunate persons they desire to punish may not have a chance of justice." Mr. M. Ramanuja Charriar pointed out* how great a boon respectable persons always felt it even now, when their cases were committed to the Sessions, "because they feel and know that they will then have a trial by jury or by the aid of assessors, as well as before far more experienced and (in consequence of their having no executive functions) far more impartial Judges." Other delegates vindicated the personal character of the district officers, saying they did not think that they willingly did injustice,† but that the lamentable failures of justice, in which all concurred, was due to bias insensibly acquired in the exercise of executive functions.

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* People who say " ditto" to whatever those in authority say.

† Lala Murlidhur (*Punjab, No. 107*). Detailed Report, page 81.

‡ Since these lines were in type Lala Murlidhur has been declared innocent, and honourably acquitted by the Chief Court of the Punjab, which held the recent assembly at Umballa, to have been peaceful, and the dispersing order illegal.

§ *Vide* page 83 of detailed Report.

The proposer, it may be added, pointed out that European British subjects, by the Criminal Procedure Act of 1882, already enjoyed the right, and that all this resolution proposed was that natives of India should be placed on a similar footing. The subject was very fully discussed, and finally the resolution was unanimously passed.

The third resolution, proposed by Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, late Standing Counsel to the Government of India, referred to the innovation made in India in 1872 in the jury system, and urged "that the powers then for the first time vested in Sessions Judges and High Courts of setting aside verdicts of acquittal should be at once withdrawn." As the law at present stands, whether a jury acquit or convict, it is open to the Sessions Judge, if he differs from the jury, to refer the case to the High Court, and then to the High Court to convict and sentence the acquitted person, or acquit the convicted person, and this merely on the papers and without the parties being even represented before them. The proposer urged‡ that this was at variance with a fundamental axiom of jurisprudence that the prisoner is entitled to the benefit of any reasonable doubt, as to his guilt, that may exist in the mind of any person trying him. While, therefore, retaining the power of acquitting persons convicted by a jury, he would withdraw that of convicting acquitted persons, so "that where a doubt exists as to his guilt, be it in the minds of jury or judge, the accused shall have the benefit of that doubt."

This resolution was at first very strongly opposed by Assamese and many Bengal delegates. The fact was that, in a recent case, an European had been acquitted by an European jury, but (his case having been referred by the Sessions Judge) convicted and sentenced by the High Court, as the native community considered most righteously, and there was therefore in Assam and parts of

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* *Vide* page 83 of detailed Report.

† Khajeh Abdool Aleem (*Dacca, No. 351*). *Vide* detailed Report, page 84.

‡ *Vide* detailed Report, page 85.

Lower Bengal (where there are many planters, and where unfortunately race-feeling is still strong) a grave disinclination to give up what was considered a possible protection against the escape, by the verdicts of European jurors, of European offenders who had committed crimes against Indians. Baboo Kali Sunkur Sukul remarked in his speech*: "We ought to remember that we are unfortunately a subject race, and if there are certain provisions in the existing code of laws which guard us against the oppression of the dominant race, we should cling to those safeguards which afford us some chance at least of having justice done to us. You are aware that every Anglo-Indian has, at the present moment, the right to be tried by jury, and you know that, in too many cases, where Europeans are the culprits, this trial by jury is followed by results which are not consistent with justice. It is a matter of very great regret, but nevertheless it is a fact, that we do not get justice done in such cases. Under these circumstances, if we pass this resolution, and if the Government accept it and carry out our views, I think it will be productive of very great wrong. A case occurred some time ago, to which I shall only make the faintest allusion, where the voice of the country was unanimously raised against a grave miscarriage of justice—a miscarriage which was remedied by the interference of the High Court, although unfortunately the Government, to a great extent, rendered that interference of no avail. The country has, with one voice, declared against the action of Government, and Government will probably be more careful henceforth how it interferes with the deliberate judgments of the High Court. But if we pass this resolution we shall be placing ourselves at the mercy of juries, strong in class bias and far more intent on screening even a disreputable member of their own community than on protecting us from the oppression of the culprit and others like him, and we shall have deprived those higher-minded and less-prejudiced Europeans, our High Court and Sessions Judges, of all power of interposing to prevent such miscarriages of justice" : But the other view of the case was equally strongly put by Baboo Koylash Chunder Sen who had practised he said for 16 years in Assam and Backergunj—"a district remarkable for criminal accusations" : "A previous speaker," he said,† "has dwelt upon the danger of depriving higher authorities of the power of rectifying the injustice done by European juries in acquitting European prisoners, especially in Assam. I know something of Assam, and I want to ask you in how many cases has that power ever been exercised ? There have been many cases in which, were not this power a mere legal fiction, where Europeans are concerned, it ought certainly to have been exercised. But has it ever been so ? Never, I say, never until this recent case to which that speaker referred, and in which two Judges of the High Court, one of them a native, mark that, tried to do justice and to punish as he deserved an European transgressor of the law, wrongfully, as the High Court held, acquitted by a jury of his fellow-countrymen. And what was the result ? The Government nullifying the work of the Judges releases the offender. So in fourteen years there has been one case in which the High Court has tried to do justice under this provision in the case of an European, and in that one case the Government undid their work. It is foolish then to talk of this provision being any protection to us, any safeguard against the escape of guilty Europeans. So far as this is concerned it is a mere sham. But, on the other hand, during these fourteen years numbers—I dare say I should be correct in saying hundreds (but I speak only from my own experience)—of natives acquitted by juries, who had all the parties before them, have been under this provision, as I believe wrongfully, punished on paper evidence. There is no sham about this; it is a stern and terrible reality, and there are scores and scores of desolate homes and hundreds of men working in chains or lying dead in dishonored graves in the Andamans by reason of this unconstitutional and objectionable provision. To cling to it is indeed to grasp a shadow and let go a reality."

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* *Vide* detailed Report, page 85.

† *Vide* page 86 of detailed Report.

Baboo Kalicharan Bannerjee* dwelt very strongly on the fact that there were perverse verdicts, that this power which it was proposed to withdraw was a valuable safeguard against such, and that High Courts would not interfere except in cases in which the verdicts were perverse. But Pundit Jwalanath Sarma urged† in reply that, "in this country the judging persons and the judged persons do not, in the mass of these cases, belong to the same class. Native juries trying native prisoners are far more likely to be right in the conclusions at which they arrive than is the English Judge. Native juries know a great many things that European Judges do not; they understand how false cases are got up. A thousand insignificant matters may transpire in the course of a case, which have no significance to the Judge, but which at once carry a conviction of the innocence of the prisoner to the better-informed minds of the jurors. As Mr. Bonnerjee pointed out, it is only right that in all cases the prisoners should have the benefit of any doubt as to his guilt, but it is doubly essential that he should receive this benefit when the persons in whose minds that doubt exists are people who understand him and his ways and customs and thoughts, and those of all the parties concerned in the case, while the only persons who do not doubt his guilt are foreign Judges, who are more or less ignorant of all these things. Of course I understand the feeling that underlies the opposition that this resolution is meeting with. The fear is that some English planter criminals, wrongfully acquitted by juries of their own countrymen, will, in the absence of this provision, escape their merited punishment. Now there are three answers to this argument which, taken together, are absolutely conclusive. In the first place, as I assume that native juries are the best judges of native criminals, so I think it not unreasonable to suppose that European juries are the best judges of the guilt of European prisoners. I refuse to believe that European juries, anywhere, habitually betray their trust. I think it quite possible that in some cases in which we think that they have done so, they, with their better knowledge of what Europeans are, may be right.

"Again, if fifty Europeans thus escaped, it would be better, if our authorities are correct, than that one man should be wrongfully convicted. But what is the fact? Why, as has already been pointed out, for one European who may possibly thus escape his merited punishment, hundreds of innocent natives are, under this provision, wrongfully convicted.

"But, lastly, as has also been pointed out, the power is never used to prevent that one European escaping ; it is only, and very freely, used to prevent the escape of innocent natives.

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* *Vide* detailed Report, page 87.
† *Vide* detailed Report, page 87.

"Baboo Kalicharan Bannerjee is very strong about perverse verdicts. Well, as to perverse verdicts of European juries, I venture to hope I have disposed of these, and I would ask you all, and I suppose nearly one-fourth of you belong, like myself, to the legal profession, how many perverse verdicts of native juries have you met with ? I believe you will agree with me that these are quite exceptional. Now we have to look to the bulk of the cases not the exceptions, and here I say, as I said before, better ten men escape in such cases than one man be punished where it is not the verdict of the jury but the opinion of the Judge that is perverse, or at any rate erroneous, and, as a fact, this latter is ten times more common than any perversity in verdicts of native juries."

The question was very vigorously argued out from various points of view, but enough has been said to show the earnestness and ability with which the subject was treated, and referring those who may care to go more closely into the debate to the detailed report of the speeches, it may suffice now to add that the resolution was ultimately carried by a very large majority.

The fourth resolution declared the urgent necessity of a complete separation of executive and judicial functions, even though this should (which was denied by many speakers) involve some extra expenditure. The proposer Mr. Daji Abaji Khare in the course of his speech remarked*: "The existing system violates the very first principles of jurisprudence, for if you invest the executive, as now, with judicial powers, you in fact make that executive, prosecutor as well as judge ; nay, as a large number of offences are mere transgressions of rules and regulations of the executive, you go further, and in such cases make this executive the Judge, as it were, in its own cause. It is not wholly the fault of the executive but, somehow or another, it has often occurred, indeed it seems to be almost a general rule, that executive officers work up a sort of personal interest in carrying certain measures into operation, and consequently insensibly generate a certain bias in their minds against particular people who disapprove those measures, and this bias clearly makes them unfit judges in cases relating to those measures or those people. Secondly, executive officers, burthened with a vast variety of miscellaneous business, have not and cannot by any effort make sufficient time to dispose calmly, systematically and with due deliberation of the judicial work that comes before them. It has been found in Bombay that the Collector of the District, although invested with full judicial powers, very seldom, if ever, tries any cases in which he has no personal concern, and that simply because he has not sufficient time. Yet, every now and then, he takes it into his head to try some particular person whose conviction he wants to make sure of, and it is needless to say that such trials are characterized, as a rule, throughout, by the exhibition, on the part of the presiding officer, of a spirit more befitting a public prosecutor than an impartial Judge. He may be right in the main ; the accused may be a great rascal, the presiding officer's *animus* against him may be based on the purest concern for the public welfare ; the Collector may know the ins and outs of the case better than any one else ; he may be the fittest possible person to be public prosecutor, but it is a mere mockery of justice to allow such a person to be also the Judge. Moreover, in order that a person may be safely entrusted with large judicial powers, he must lead the life of a Judge,—a life apart from, and uncolored by, those conflicting interests out of which so many cases arise, and he must have besides ample opportunities for mastering the spirit as well as the letter of the law, and for becoming saturated with the fundamental principles of jurisprudence. It will not be gainsaid that, as matters now stand, the executive, in all but the highest grades, is unfortunately almost normally in opposition to the people, and as a necessity the conduct of cases—and they are very numerous—in which the opposing parties are the executive and the people, by that executive, is far from being impartial." After giving a typical instance of such miscarriages of justice from his own recent personal experience, he concluded his speech with the following words : "There is not, I venture to say, a single delegate here present who could not, from his own personal knowledge, give similar instances of the untoward results of the present objectionable system; and it is really, therefore, useless for me to say more in favour of a resolution which aims, solely, at superseding that system by a better and more rational one." Other speakers supported the resolution, adducing instances from their own knowledge of the defective character of the existing system, but the discussion was not prolonged, as the whole assemblage was of one mind, and the resolution was passed unanimously.

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* *Vide* detailed Report, page 90.

The next resolution was an important one, *viz.*, "that in view to the unsettled state of public affairs in Europe, and the immense assistance that the people of this country, if duly prepared therefor, are capable of rendering to Great Britain in the event of any serious complications arising, this Congress do earnestly appeal to the Government to authorise (under such rules and restrictions as may to it seem fitting) a system of Volunteering for the Indian inhabitants of the country, such as may qualify them to support the Government, effectively, in any crisis."

It may be, as has been often asserted, a mere matter of sentiment, but there is no subject on which the intelligent classes, throughout India, feel more keenly than this, and looking to the immense importance which the assemblage clearly attached to it, to the absolute unanimity with which they regarded it, and the enthusiasm with which they greeted its introduction, it may be desirable to quote at length from the proposer, Rajah Rampal's speech, which put the case, apparently, to the entire satisfaction of his audience. He said* :— "The spirit of this meeting has been so uniformly loyal and conciliatory that I hope no one will blame us if we now proceed to deal with a matter in regard to which we are distinctly at variance with Government. Every one knows that, for a variety of reasons, the whole country is of opinion that Native Volunteer Corps ought to be organised. Every one knows that the entire country memorialised and endeavoured to move Government in this matter, and every one further knows that, to our great regret and disappointment, the Government—and that not over-graciously—distinctly refused to pay any attention to the unanimous voice of the country. None the less, however, do we now feel it our duty to reiterate those representations which are based on a consideration of the highest interests of Great Britain as well as of India.

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*. *Vide* detailed Report, page 92.

"We are deeply grateful to the Government for all the good that it has done us, but we cannot be grateful to it, when it is, no matter with what best of intentions, doing us a terrible and irreparable injury.

"We are grateful to it for the peace and order which it has diffused over the land—for the education that it has so nobly and unselfishly imparted to us—for its promise of admitting us to every post and office in the administration for which we prove our fitness—for the share that it has given us in the comforts and conveniences provided by the triumphs of Western science, railways, telegraphs, telephones—we are grateful to it, in a word, for all the innumerable boons and blessings that it has conferred on us; but we cannot be grateful to it for degrading our natures, for systematically crushing out of us all martial spirit, for converting a race of soldiers and heroes into a timid flock of quill-driving sheep.

"Thank God, things have not yet gone quite so far as this; there are some of us yet, everywhere, who would be willing to draw swords, and, if needful, lay down our lives, for hearths and homes, aye and for the support and maintenance of that Government to which we owe so much. But this is what we are coming to; and when we once come to that, then I think that, despite the glories of the Pax Britannica, despite the noble intentions of Great Britain, despite all the good that she may have done or tried to do us, the balance will be against her, and India will have to regret rather than rejoice that she has ever had anything to do with England.

"This may be strong language, but it is the truth. Nothing can ever make amends to a nation for the destruction of its national spirit and of its capacity to defend itself, and the soil from which it springs.

"Nor is it only we who shall have to regret and suffer for the mistaken policy that our Government is unhappily pursuing in this matter. Look where you will around you in the world, and you will see gigantic armies and armaments. There is trouble in store for the whole civilised world, and sooner or later a tremendous military struggle will commence, in which assuredly, before it terminates, Great Britain will be involved.' Great Britain with all her wealth cannot put one hundred men into the field for every thousand that several Continental powers can. England herself is isolated, and by her insular position to a certain extent protected. But no 'friendly sea' rolls between Europe and Asia, the landward path to India is known and open. India is not isolated, and it will be India, on whose possession half Great Britain's wealth and status depends, that will be the scene of any serious attack by any Continental powers on Great Britain. Then will England regret that, instead of having millions of brave Indians trained to arms to fling back the invaders, she has only her scanty legions to oppose to them, and from her timid subjects can only look, at most, for good wishes—Good wishes—truly good things in their way, but poor bulwarks against Berdan rifles and steel ordnance.

"But, on our own account, we deprecate the existing policy. High and low, we are losing all knowledge of the use of arms, and with this that spirit of self-reliance which enables a man to dare, which makes men brave, which makes them worthy of the name of men. When I was only five years of age my grandfather made me begin to learn all physical exercises in vogue amongst us, and I was trained to the use of all arms and in all martial exercises.

"But what man now sends his son for such training ? What young man now-a-days knows anything of these things ? Fifty years ago, without desiring warfare, every young man's heart glowed within him at the thought of some day showing his prowess in a fair field. Now most young men would, I fear, contemplate any such possible contingency with very—let me say—mixed feelings. If men are to be fit for soldiers—fit to fight to any purpose when the time of trial comes, and come it must for every country—then they must be trained in the use of arms, they must from their childhood see their parents, their elders, using arms and participating in those martial exercises which only 35 years ago, in Oudh at least, were part of every gentleman's occupation.

"And there is another very important point. India is practically being impoverished to a great extent by the enormous expense of her standing army. Sooner or later the crushing weight of this (for her resources) enormous expenditure will break down either the country or the Government. Now, by a judicious encouragement of Indian Volunteers, it would be possible to reduce very greatly this military expenditure and yet leave the country far stronger for defensive purposes than it now is.

"But I might go on for hours. I might dwell on the fact that, in the way the Arms Act is now worked in many localities, the people, their herds, their crops, are wholly at the mercy of wild beasts. I might dwell on the insult, the injustice, the violation of the most sacred and solemn pledges by England to India, that are involved in the rules that permit Indian Christians, but do not permit Indian Hindus or Mahomedans, to volunteer. But I have said enough, and, indeed, being, as we are, all of one mind, too much already, I fear, on this subject, in which I am deeply interested ; and I will only now add that we do not ask Government to put arms blindly into all men's hands, but only to permit, under such rules and restrictions as it sees fit, the better and more educated classes of its loyal Indian subjects to qualify themselves to defend, when occasion may require, their homes, their country, and their Government."

It is perhaps needless to say, the subject being, as the President remarked, one of those few in regard to which there is absolutely no difference of opinion throughout the length and breadth of the land, that this resolution was passed by acclamation, amidst the most enthusiastic cheering.

The Congress then adjourned, but a little later in the morning a number of the leading delegates—Rao Sahib P. Rangiah Naidu (*Madras, No.* 1) ; The Hon'ble. S. Subramania Iyer, B.L. (*Madras, No.* 2) ; Rao Sahib S. A. Saminada Iyer (*Tanjore, No.* 41) ; The Hon'ble Dadabhai Naoroji (*Bombay, No.* 48) ; Mr. N. G. Chandavarkar, B.A., L.L.B. (*Bombay, No.* 49) ; Mr. Daji Abaji Khare, B.A., L.L.B. (*Bombay, No.* 56) ; Mr. S. H. Chiplunkar (*Poona, No.* 65) ; Rao Sahib Harilal Harshadrai Dhruva, B.A., L.L.B. (*Surat, No.* 88) ; Lala Ramcharan Das (*Allahabad, No.* 114) ; Baboo Charoo Chunder Mittra (*Allahabad, No.* 119) ; Nawab Reza Ali Khan Bahadur (*Lucknow, No.* 167) ; Mr. Hamid Ali Khan (*Lucknow, No.* 168) ; Mr. Gungadhar

Rao Madhaw Chitnavis (*Nagpur, No.* 187); Baboo Doorga Charan Law, C.I.E. (*Calcutta, No.* 231); The Hon'ble Peary Mohun Mookerjee, M.A., B.L. (*Calcutta, No.* 233); and a few others—had the honour of private interviews with His Excellency the Viceroy. Lord Dufferin received his visitors with his usual kindness, and showed much interest in the work of the Congress, but, as he specially informed all, that he received them, not as delegates or representatives, they having no legal status as such, but, only as distinguished visitors to the capital whose views on public matters he was glad to learn, the reception must be held to have been private, and nothing need be said further as to the conversations that occurred.

In the afternoon, a large steamer being provided by the kindness of Baboo Mohes Chandra Chowdhry, the majority of the delegates made a most pleasant trip up the river. There was no time to waste, so the Public Service Committee held their conference on the steamer's deck, with all their brother delegates round them to consult at each step, and by dusk, when all landed, a perfect unanimity had been arrived at, in regard to all those questions, relating to admission into the public service, which it was found possible to discuss thoroughly.

The next day, Thursday, the 30th of December, the Congress re-assembled for its fourth and last sitting, and the first business dealt with was the report of the Public Service Committee. This was duly read out to the assemblage and entirely approved. Although very brief, it really covered every important point, except one, in regard to which the Congress was greatly divided in opinion, and that was whether successful candidates for the Civil Service, at the proposed examinations in India, should or should not be required to proceed thereafter to Europe to complete their training. A great many delegates considered this to be a *sine qua non,* if these candidates were, later in life, to do the fullest credit, and be of the greatest possible service, to their country; but an equally large number, probably, held that it should remain optional, maintaining with Dr. Rajendralala Mitra, that, however desirable such a visit to England might be, it was monstrous and without any precedent in modern times, that, before a man could serve his own country in any of the higher grades of the public service, he should be compelled to proceed to another country, five thousand miles or more distant, and reside there for two or three years, and especially monstrous in the case of Hindus, to the orthodox amongst whom such journey and residence involved, it was asserted, loss of caste and other social and religious disabilities. On this question the difference of opinion was notoriously fundamental and radical in its character, and it was, therefore, excluded from the report, which, dealing as it did with every other important point connected with the subject, was, by a resolution, formally accepted and unanimously adopted as correctly representing the views of the entire Congress.

Then followed the most important resolution, perhaps, passed by the Congress. On the second day, as will be remembered, a resolution had been passed re-affirming the third resolution of the Congress of 1885, and declaring that the introduction of a representative element into the Government of the country had become a necessity. This present resolution (*IV of the Summary, page* 41) went a step further and indicated " (subject to such modifications as on a more detailed examination of the subject may commend themselves to the Government)" the principles to which, in the opinion of the Congress, regard should be had "in giving practical effect to this essential reform."

The scheme (if nothing else, at least a modest and practical one) is too long to reproduce here, but may be referred to *loc. cit. sup.* The discussion that followed was of the highest interest. Mr. Surendranath Banerjee (*Bengal*) proposed, and Mr. N. G. Chandavarkar (*Bombay*) seconded the resolution, in speeches of great eloquence and cogency which *must be read.** For they are long, and especially Mr. Chandavarkar's, closely argued, and could not be fairly represented by any mere extracts. But passages illustrating well the character of the discussion may be cited from other speeches. Of the representation, so eagerly desired by the whole country, Mr. Ananda Charlu of Madras said†: "After all, dispassionately considered, what is it but the embodiment of an ancient, fundamental, political aphorism, in its juster, truer and nobler acceptation? What is the prayer we lay before Government? It is nothing more and nothing less than a petition to our rulers, to act, in practice, on the well known advice to rulers, DIVIDE and GOVERN; not in its sinister interpretation which prompts men to set class against class, section against section, in a body politic in which perfect concord should prevail, but (as I said) in its juster, truer and nobler interpretation of dividing *with* the subjects the responsibilities and labours of the administration and thereby establishing their rule immutably, on the broad basis of the national concurrence."

Moulvi Syed Shurfuddin (a Barrister-at-law and Landholder) remarked‡: "It is almost needless to say that, as natives of India, we are better versed in the manners and customs, the ideas and convictions, the wants and wishes of our people than any Englishman can be. How then can it be otherwise than reasonable that, after having been educated by the magnanimity of the people of England, we should ask from them that share in the administration of our country which they have taught us to desire and have qualified us to deserve?"

"We want to be legislated for by people who have a real knowledge of our habits and customs; by people who understand us, who are of us, not by foreigners and strangers, who, however good their will, lack that intimate sympathy with, and participation in, our views and aspirations, which is essential if their measures are to command anything like the approval and unanimous assent of the country."

He pointed out that Government had already tacitly admitted the necessity of representation, and concluded his speech with these words: "And many other instances might be cited, to show that they (the Government), themselves, are aware of the dangers of the present blindfold system of legislating for people of whom they know little and understand less. So that this great reform is already well within the sphere of practical politics, and all we have to do is to press, and press for it earnestly, energetically, steadily and perseveringly until we get it, and in getting it, crown our rulers, teachers, friends and guides with new and imperishable laurels. I have heard a Roman apothegm '*Finis coronat opus*,' and in no way can Great Britain more gloriously crown her noble work in India than by the introduction here of representative institutions."

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* *Vide* pp. 98 and 100 of detailed Report.

† *Vide* detailed Report, page 103.

‡ *Vide* page 105 of detailed Report.

Sheikh Kadir Buksh, a merchant, ridiculed the idea that any differences between Hindus and Mahomedans would in any way vitiate the scheme before them, and said he had been some time on an elected Municipal Board. "We* are Hindus and Mahomedans alike on our Board; never has there been any difference between us arising out of religious feelings, and how should there be? We are not Molvis and Pandits meeting to argue on religious topics, but business men, meeting to arrange for keeping the town clean and healthy and for levying the funds, required for these purposes, equitably and with as little expense and worry to the rate-payers as may be. If we keep the place dirty and cholera comes, will it not kill us Mahomedans as well as the Hindus? If we get pure good water to drink, shall we not drink it as well as they? And so it will be with the proposed elected Legislative Councils. Will it not be all our objects to keep the Government out of useless wars; to make them economize; to reduce taxation; to give fair play to native talent; to encourage native industries? Religion is one thing and business another, and only very foolish or ill-disposed persons mix the two together, and try to set any sect against a work which is equally for the good of all sects."

Malik Bhugwandas of Dera Ismail Khan, a born orator, pointed out that "this† system of representation and Government by Councils composed of our own people is indigenous in the Punjab, and from time immemorial the frontier tribes, though wanting in education, have always possessed sufficient intelligence to manage matters admirably for themselves. We had regular representative Legislative Councils long before we had even heard the name of England; and those Councils made laws which, though not compiled in bulky statute books, were none the less binding and obeyed; and to this day the independent frontier tribes, in our neighbourhood, are governed by just such Councils; and these Councils have made laws from time to time, and if a man commit adultery or other offence, he is tried by those Councils, and convicted and sentenced according to those laws, which the whole tribe unites to uphold, because they are home-made and commend themselves to all minds as just and right." And he went on to argue, very fairly, that if representative institutions answered so well amongst the ignorant *pushtunis* (or tribes outside the frontier) how much better would they succeed amongst the comparatively educated populations inside the frontier. His brief peroration too pointed, well the moral of his eloquent speech. "Great," he said, "are the benefits that have been conferred on us by the British Government. May it prosper for ever and ever, and a third time I say ever, but that this may be so, let it never forget that its real strength lies, not in its artillery but, in the hold it has, and I pray God may ever retain on the hearts of its subjects."

But perhaps the speech that was most enthusiastically received was one made by Pandit Madan Mohun Malavia a high caste Brahmin, whose fair complexion and delicately chiseled features, instinct with intellectuality, at once impressed every eye, and who, suddenly, jumping up on a chair beside the President, poured forth a manifestly impromptu speech with an energy and eloquence that carried everything before them.

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* He spoke in Urdu; this is a translation. *Vide* detailed Report, page 105.
† He spoke in Urdu; this is a translation. *Vide* detailed Report, page 106.

"It is not to the great British Government," he said,* "that we need demonstrate the utility, the expediency, the necessity of this great reform. It might have been necessary to support our petition for this boon by some such demonstration were we governed by some despotic monarch, jealous of the duties, but ignorant and careless of the rights of subjects. But it is surely unnecessary to say one word in support of such a cause to the British Government, or to the British Nation—to the descendants of those brave and great men who fought and died to obtain for themselves, and preserve intact for their children those very institutions that, taught by their example, we now crave; who spent their whole lives and shed their hearts' blood so freely in maintaining and developing this cherished principle? What is an Englishman without representative institutions? Why not an Englishman at all—a mere sham—a base imitation, and I often wonder, as I look round at our nominally English magnates, how they have the face to call themselves Englishmen, and yet deny us representative institutions and struggle to maintain despotic ones. Representative institutions are as much a part of the true Briton as his language and his literature. Will any one tell me that Great Britain will in cold blood deny us, her free-born subjects, the first of these, when, by the gift of the two latter, she has qualified us to appreciate and has incited us to desire it?

"No taxation without representation! That is the first commandment in the Englishman's Political Bible; how can he palter with his conscience and tax us here, his free and educated fellow-subjects, as if we were dumb sheep or cattle? . . . . .

"But we are not dumb any longer. India has found a voice at last, in this great Congress, and through it we call on England to be true to her traditions, her instincts and herself, and grant us our rights as free-born British citizens." Then after acknowledging enthusiastically all India has owed to England, he went on: "But while we are thus deeply grateful for the blessings we enjoy, we cannot but feel that there are still many points in which our condition can be, and ought to be, improved; and we see, first and foremost, that the system of administration that now obtains is despotic and is deficient in the principle of representation—the fundamental characteristic of a free Government. There is not a true born Englishman who would not be horrified if told that the Government of India dealt with the whole people of India as slaves, and yet, if any such man will fairly face the facts of the case, he will be compelled to admit that, despite all other good gifts, in this matter of excluding us from all share in the Government of our own country, the Government is really treating us as mere slaves. The right to be represented is inherent in every educated, free-born British subject." He urged that the Queen's Proclamation solemnly promised that her Indian subjects should be treated like all her other subjects, and he showed that they were not so treated, and concluded: "Surely it is the desire of every generous-hearted Englishman, who loves liberty, to confer the freedom he himself enjoys on all?"

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* *Vide* detailed Report, page 107.

" For he," as an English poet says, "that values liberty, confines
" His zeal for her predominance within
" No narrow bounds; her cause engages him
" Wherever pleaded. 'Tis the cause of Man."

" But our President signs that I am exceeding the allotted period, and I will only add, may the cause of the people of India, the cause of liberty and right, engage the attention, heart and soul, of every honest Englishman in India and in England, and may each true Briton, who values the rights, the privileges, the freedom which have made him and his country what they are, aid us *like* true Britons to the fruition of our aspirations, for equal rights, equal privileges and equal freedom."

An Assam delegate concluded his speech with the remark*: " Allowing freely that our rulers, foreigners and strangers as they are to all that most intimately affects us, are actuated by the highest motives and do their best for us, the present state of the country and the universal feeling that pervades it, sufficiently show that neither the purity of their intentions nor the conscientiousness of their efforts can compensate for that want of practical sympathy and detailed knowledge of the circumstances of our case which only our own people, carefully selected by ourselves, can supply."

These extracts and a perusal of the proposer's and seconder's speech will give some idea of the earnestness, ability and enthusiasm with which this discussion was carried on. It is needless to say that the resolution was carried, but it may be added that it was carried without a dissentient voice, although it was known that some few of the delegates, including two or three gentlemen of great distinction, were doubtful of the expediency of entering so much into details as the scheme put forth by the resolution does.

This completed the more important work of the Congress, but a few other resolutions, more or less formal (one, calling upon all public bodies and associations, throughout the country, to entreat the Viceroy to move the Secretary of State to appoint a Commission to enquire into the best practical methods of introducing representative institutions into India; another, for the submission of the resolutions to the Government of India and Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India; a third, for the constitution of permanent Congress Committees at all important centres), and the usual votes of thanks were passed. Still some passages from the closing speech† of the President demand notice. "I am only speaking tamely I fear," he said, "when I say that from first to last nothing could possibly have been more honorable to our country than the conduct of all concerned, or than the spirit that has pervaded the entire assemblage. In the heat of argument, under that greatest of all stimuli, patriotic enthusiasm, not one word, I believe, has escaped a single speaker, that he need wish unspoken. Kindness, courtesy, a spirit of cheerful mutual concession have pervaded our proceedings which, but for this, could never have reached this happy and successful termination." Thanking the assemblage for the uniform support they had accorded to him, he went on to say: "There is, however, just one point to which I ought perhaps to refer more particularly, and that is to the spirit of fairness and moderation and respect towards the Government which has characterized your proceedings from the beginning to the end. I need not say how gratified I have been to observe how thoroughly all have seemed to be imbued with that spirit; not only is it our interest that it should be so, but it is what the Government, after all they have done for us, have a just right to expect from us, and I only hope that the example which this great assemblage has set, in this respect, will be followed, not only at all future meetings of the Congress, not only by all and every Association throughout the country, but also by the entire Indian Press, some members of which, under the influence of the bad example too often set to them by a portion of the Anglo-Indian Press, have at times, it must be confessed, transgressed in this respect. If we really desire to be respected, if we wish our requests to be attended to, if we honestly expect that the English nation will do its duty towards us, we must prove ourselves worthy by showing that we are never unreasonable, never violent, never uncharitable; we must show that we are earnest, but temperate; cognizant of our own rights, but respectful of those of others; expecting the fairest construction of our own acts and motives, and conceding this to those of others; that, in a word, whatever our *status* in life, high or low, rich or poor, we have become gentlemen, in the highest sense of the word. Unless we are and can prove ourselves gentlemen in this highest, noblest sense, I do not know that we are worthy to receive the concessions for which we are pressing." And he concluded: "I thank you, for myself, for the honour you have done me in choosing me as President and for the generous kindness with which you have upheld me in the performance of the responsible duties of that high position, and I thank you on behalf of all your countrymen—on behalf of posterity for the noble manner in which at this great Congress—which history will not readily forget—you have upheld the credit, the character, the dignity of our beloved India."

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* Mr. Devi Charan Barua (*Debrughur, No.* 429). *Vide* page 109 of detailed Report.

† *Vide* page 112 of detailed Report.

Then, as the storm of cheers, which followed on this peroration, somewhat subsided, volleys of cheers were given for the Queen-Empress, the Viceroy and others, and the Congress of 1886 dissolved.

That night some of the delegates started homewards, but many remained to be present next day (Friday) at a garden party given by His Excellency the Viceroy, to which all the delegates, on the Government House lists of their respective provinces and presidencies, had been kindly invited, not, as His Excellency was careful to explain, in their capacities of representatives, but as gentlemen of more or less distinction and culture whom he was pleased to be able thus to honour.

Another couple of days and only a few stragglers remained of that great assemblage. It had melted away as rapidly as it had gathered. Is it to bear no fruit, to have no results? Well, even if no concrete results should proximately flow from this memorable Congress, if the Government, here and in England, should unhappily remain deaf to the unanimous reclamations of the country, this assemblage will, at any rate, have demonstrated our loyalty to our Sovereign, our gratitude for all the blessings conferred on us, our abiding faith in the innate sense of justice of the British nation, our profound dissatisfaction with the existing form of the administration, and our entire fitness, from every point of view, for those representative institutions, on which the Congress so strongly insisted and on which the entire mass of the educated and intelligent classes, throughout the Empire, have now set their hearts.

These things has this Congress demonstrated, and it must now leave to time, to justice, and to God, the fruition of the national aspirations.

SUMMARY
OF
Resolutions passed at the SECOND INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, held in Calcutta on the 27th, 28th, 29th and 30th December 1886.

RESOLUTION I.

Resolved.—That this Congress of Delegates from all parts of India do humbly offer its dutiful and loyal congratulations to Her Most Gracious Majesty, the Queen Empress, on the approaching completion of the first half century of her memorable, beneficent and glorious reign, and heartily wish her many, many more, and happy, years of rule, over the great British Empire.

[Proposed by Mr. Rahimatulla M. Sayani *(Bombay)*; seconded by Lala Murlidhur, *(Ambala)*; supported by Mr. G. Subramania Iyer *(Madras)* and carried by acclamation.]

RESOLUTION II.

Resolved.—That this Congress regards with the deepest sympathy, and views with grave apprehension, the increasing poverty of vast numbers of the population of India, and (although aware that the Government is not overlooking this matter and is contemplating certain palliatives) desires to record its fixed conviction that the introduction of Representative Institutions will prove one of the most important practical steps towards the amelioration of the condition of the people.

[Proposed by Mr. Dinshaw Edulji Watcha (*Bombay*); seconded by the Hon'ble S. Subramania Iyer (*Madras*); supported by Pandit Prannath (*Lucknow*) and carried by a very large majority.]

RESOLUTION III.

Resolved.—That this Congress do, emphatically, reaffirm the 3rd Resolution of the Congress of 1885, and distinctly declare its belief that the reform and expansion of the Council of the Governor-General for making Laws and of the Provincial Legislative Councils, therein suggested, have now become essential alike in the interests of India and England.

[Proposed by Rai Kunja Lall Banerjee, Bahadur (*Calcutta*); seconded by Mr. P. Rangiah Naidu (*Madras*); supported by Mr. Ghanasham Nilkanth (*Bombay*) and carried unanimously.]

RESOLUTION IV.

Resolved.—That this Congress is of opinion that in giving practical effect to this essential reform, regard should be had (subject to such modifications as, on a more detailed examination of the question, may commend themselves to the Government) to the principles embodied in the following tentative suggestions:—

(1.)—The number of persons composing the Legislative Councils, both Provincial and of the Governor-General, to be materially increased. Not less than one-half the Members of such enlarged Councils to be elected. Not more than one-fourth to be officials having seats *ex-officio* in such Councils, and not more than one-fourth to be Members, official or non-official, nominated by Government.

(2.)—The right to elect members to the Provincial Councils to be conferred only on those classes and members of the community, *primâ facie*, capable of exercising it wisely and independently. In Bengal and Bombay the Councillors may be elected by the members of Municipalities, District Boards, Chambers of Commerce and the Universities, or an electorate may be constituted of all persons possessing such qualifications, educational and pecuniary, as may be deemed necessary. In Madras, the Councillors may be elected either by District Boards, Municipalities, Chambers of Commerce and the University, or by Electoral colleges composed of members partly elected by these bodies and partly nominated by Government. In the North-West Provinces and Oudh and in the Punjab, Councillors may be elected by an Electoral College composed of members elected by Municipal and District Boards and nominated, to an extent not exceeding one-sixth of the total number, by Government, it being understood that the same elective system now in force where Municipal Boards are concerned will be applied to District Boards, and the right of electing members to these latter extended to the cultivating class. But whatever system be adopted (and the details must be worked out separately for each province) care must be taken that all sections of the community, and all great interests, are adequately represented.

(3.)—The elected Members of the Council of the Governor-General for making Laws, to be elected by the elected Members of the several Provincial Councils.

(4.)—No elected or nominated Member of any Council, to receive any salary or remuneration in virtue of such membership, but any such Member, already in receipt of any Government salary or allowance, to continue to draw the same unchanged during membership, and all Members to be entitled to be reimbursed any expenses incurred in travelling in connection with their membership.

(5.)—All persons, resident in India, to be eligible for seats in Council, whether as electees or nominees, without distinction of race, creed, caste or colour.

(6.)—All legislative measures and all financial questions, including all budgets, whether these involve new or enhanced taxation or not, to be necessarily submitted to and dealt with by these Councils. In the case of all other branches of the administration, any Member to be at liberty, after due notice, to put any question he sees fit to the *ex-officio* Members (or such one of these as may be specially charged with the supervision of the particular branch concerned) and to be entitled (except as hereinafter provided) to receive a reply to his question, together with copies of any papers requisite for the thorough comprehension of the subject, and on this reply the Council to be at liberty to consider and discuss the question and record thereon such resolution as may appear fitting to the majority. Provided that, if the subject in regard to which the inquiry is made involves matters of Foreign policy, Military dispositions or strategy, or is otherwise of such a nature that, in the opinion of the Executive, the Public interests would be materially imperilled by the communication of the information asked for, it shall be competent for them to instruct the *ex-officio* Members, or one of them, to reply accordingly, and decline to furnish the information asked for.

(7.)—The Executive Government shall possess the power of overruling the decision arrived at by the majority of the Council, in every case in which, in its opinion, the public interests would suffer by the acceptance of such decision; but whenever this power is exercised, a full exposition of the grounds on which this has been considered necessary, shall be published within one month, and in the case of local Governments they shall report the circumstances and explain their action to the Government of India, and in the case of this latter, it shall report and explain to the Secretary of State; and in any such case on a representation made through the Government of India and the Secretary of State by the overruled majority, it shall be competent to the Standing Committee of the House of Commons (recommended in the 3rd Resolution of last year's Congress which this present Congress has affirmed) to consider the matter, and call for any and all papers or information, and hear any persons on behalf of such majority or otherwise, and thereafter, if needful, report thereon to the full House.

[Proposed by Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee (*Calcutta*); seconded by Mr. N. G. Chandavarkar (*Bombay*); supported by Mr. Sharfuddin (*Behar*) and carried without a dissentient voice.]

RESOLUTION V.

Resolved.—That this Congress do invite all Public Bodies and all Associations throughout the Country, humbly and earnestly, to entreat His Excellency the Viceroy to obtain the sanction of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, to the appointment of a Commission, to enquire exhaustively into the best method of introducing such a tentative form of Representative Institutions into India, as has been indicated in Resolutions III of the past, and IV of the present year's Congress.

[Proposed by Mr. N. N. Gupta (*Karrachi*); seconded by Mr. M. B. Namjoshi (*Poona*); supported by Kumar Binay Krishna (*Calcutta*) and carried unanimously.]

RESOLUTION VI.

Resolved.—That a Committee composed of the gentlemen named in the margin* be appointed to consider the Public Service Question and report thereon to this Congress.

*Hon'ble Dadabhai Naoroji (*Bombay*).
,, S. Subramania Iyer (*Madras*).
,, Peary Mohan Mookerjee (*Calcutta*).
Mr. G. Subramania Iyer (*Madras*).
Babu Matilal Ghose (*Calcutta*).
Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee (*Calcutta*).
,, Gangapershad Varma (*Lucknow*).
,, Ramkali Chaudhuri (*Benares*).
,, Guru Prasad Sen (*Patna*).
Pundit Prannath (*Lucknow*).
Munshi Kashipershad (*Allahabad*).
Nawab Reza Ali Khan (*Lucknow*).
Mr. Hamid Ali (*Lucknow*).
Lala Kanhyalal (*Amritsar*).
Rao Sahib Gungadhar Rao Madhaw Chitnavis (*Nagpur*).
Mr. Rahimatulla M. Sayani (*Bombay*).

[Proposed by Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee (*Calcutta*); seconded by Mr. M. B. Namjoshi (*Poona*); supported by Pandit S. Agnihotri (*Lahore*) and carried unanimously.]

RESOLUTION VII.

Resolved.—That this Congress approves and adopts the report* submitted by the Committee appointed by Resolution VI.

[Proposed by Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee (*Calcutta*); seconded by the Hon'ble S. Subramania Iyer (*Madras*) and carried unanimously.]

RESOLUTION VIII.

Resolved.—That, in the opinion of this Congress, the time has now arrived when the system of trial by jury may be safely extended into many parts of the Country where it is not at present in force.

[Proposed by Mr. S. A. Saminada Iyer (*Tanjore*); seconded by Mr. H. H. Dhruva (*Surat*); supported by Dr. Trailokyanath Mitter (*Calcutta*) and carried unanimously.]

RESOLUTION IX.

Resolved.—That, in the opinion of this Congress, the innovation made in 1872 in the system of trial by jury, depriving the verdicts of juries of all finality, has proved injurious to the Country, and that the powers then, for the first time, vested in Sessions Judges and High Courts, of setting aside verdicts of acquittal, should be at once withdrawn.

[Proposed by Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee (*Calcutta*); seconded by the Hon'ble Peary Mohan Mookerjee (*Calcutta*); supported by Munshi Sadho Lal (*Benares*) and carried by a very large majority.]

RESOLUTION X.

Resolved.—That, in the opinion of this Congress, a provision, similar to that contained in the Summary Jurisdiction Act of England (under which accused persons in serious cases have the option of demanding a committal to the Sessions Court), should be introduced into the Indian Code of Criminal

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* REPORT.

We, the Members of the Committee appointed by the Congress to submit a statement in connection with the Public Service Question, have the honour to report that the following resolutions were unanimously adopted by us at a meeting held yesterday:—

1.—That the open Competitive Examination be held simultaneously both in India and in England.

2.—That the simultaneous examinations thus held be equally open to all classes of Her Majesty's subjects.

3.—That the classified list be prepared according to merit.

4.—That the Congress express the hope that the Civil Service Commissioners will give fair consideration to Sanskrit and Arabic among the subjects of examination.

5.—That the age of candidates eligible for admission to the open Competitive Examination be not less than 19, or, as recommended by Sir C. Aitchison, more than 23 years.

6.—That simultaneous examinations being granted, the Statutory Civil Service be closed for first appointments.

7.—That the appointments in the Statutory Civil Service, under the existing rules, be still left open to the Members of the Uncovenanted Service and to professional men of proved merit and ability.

8.—That all appointments requiring educational qualifications, other than covenanted first appointments, be filled by Competitive Examinations held in the different Provinces, and open in each Province to such natural-born subjects of H. M. only as are residents thereof.

These Resolutions it is hoped, cover the main principles which underlie the questions set by the Public Service Commission. For a more detailed consideration there was no time.

(Sd.) DADABHAI NAOROJI,
President of the Committee.

30th December 1886.

Procedure, enabling accused persons, in warrant cases, to demand that, instea of being tried by the Magistrate, they be committed to the Court of Sessions.

[Proposed by Mr. Mano Mohan Ghose *(Calcutta)*; seconded by Mr. T. Chidambara Row *(Bellary)*; supported by Khajeh Abdul Aleem *(Dacca)* an carried unanimously.]

RESOLUTION XI.

Resolved.—That this Congress do place on record an expression of th universal conviction, that a complete separation of executive and judicia functions (such that in no case the two functions shall be combined in the sam officer) has become an urgent necessity, and that, in its opinion, it behoves th Government to effect this separation without further delay, even though thi should, in some Provinces, involve some extra expenditure.

[Proposed by Mr. Daji Abaji Khare *(Bombay)*; seconded by Munshi Kashipershad *(Allahabad)*; supported by Mr. Sri Ram *(Lucknow)* and carried unanimously.]

RESOLUTION XII.

Resolved.—That in view to the unsettled state of public affairs in Europe, and the immense assistance that the people of this country, if duly prepared therefor, is capable of rendering to Great Britain in the event of any serious complications arising, this Congress do earnestly appeal to the Government to authorise (under such rules and restrictions as may to it seem fitting) a system of Volunteering for the Indian inhabitants of the country, such as may qualify them to support the Government, effectively, in any crisis.

[Proposed by Rajah Rampal Singh *(Oudh)*; seconded by Mr. R. D. Mehta *(Calcutta)* and carried by acclamation.]

RESOLUTION XIII.

Resolved.—That Standing Congress-Committees be constituted at all important centres.

[Proposed by Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee *(Calcutta)*; seconded by Mr. N. G. Chandavarkar *(Bombay)* and carried unanimously.]

RESOLUTION XIV.

Resolved.—That the Third Indian National Congress assemble at Madras on the 27th of December 1887.

[Proposed by Mr. A. O. Hume *(Punjab)*; seconded by the Hon'ble S. Subramania Iyer *(Madras)* and carried by acclamation.]

RESOLUTION XV.

Resolved.—That copies of these Resolutions be forwarded to His Excellency the Viceroy in Council, with the humble requests, that he will cause the 1st Resolution to be submitted in due course to Her Majesty the Queen Empress, that he will cause all the Resolutions to be laid before Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, and that he himself will be graciously pleased, in consultation with his colleagues, to accord them his best consideration.

[Proposed by Mr. Rangiah Naidu *(Madras)*; and seconded by Mr. Sorabjee Framjee Patel *(Bombay)* and carried unanimously.]

(Signed) DADABHAI NAOROJI,
President of the Second Indian National Congress.

DETAILED

REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SECOND INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

HELD AT

CALCUTTA

On the 27th, 28th, 29th and 30th of December 1886.

FIRST DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

THE INAUGURAL MEETING of the Congress was held on the 27th December at the Town Hall.

"We never remember to have seen the Hall more densely packed, and what was a striking feature of the meeting, was its undoubtedly cosmopolitan character. It was, in short, a vast gathering of the Indian people. Every race and every sect was there represented, and the proceedings, exceedingly earnest and enthusiastic, were remarkable for their expressions of loyalty to the Crown. At the time (3 P.M.) appointed for the commencement of the proceedings, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji was conducted to the platform amidst loud and deafening cheers, which again resounded through the Hall on the appearance of Raja Rampal Singh and Mr. Cotton.*"

The Hon'ble S. SUBRAMANIA IYER (*Madras, No. 2 of List*) then proposed, and Mr. N. G. CHANDAVARKAR (*Bombay, No. 49*) seconded the proposal, that, pending the election of a President, Dr. Rajendralala Mitra (*Bengal, No. 229*) do take the Chair. The proposition having been carried by acclamation, Dr. Rajendralala assumed the Chair amidst enthusiastic cheering, and then again rising addressed the assemblage.

DR. RAJENDRALALA MITRA said: "Gentlemen,—The duty I have to perform on the present occasion is to receive the delegates who have come from the various Provinces of the Empire to take part in our deliberations. It is a very agreeable duty, and I most heartily welcome the gentlemen to this assemblage. In the name of my colleagues who have organized this Congress, I express my welcome to them. In the name of the citizens of Calcutta, I beg to tender them our most cordial greetings. I receive them with my extended hands; I offer them the right hand of fellowship for the cordial manner in which they have responded to our invitation. It is not for me on the present occasion to dwell at length upon the subjects which will be brought forward for consideration here. But I cannot rest content with the few words I have already said. It has been the dream of my life that the scattered units of my race may some day coalesce and come together; that instead of living merely as individuals, we may some day so combine as to be able to live as a nation. In this meeting, I behold the commencement of such coalescence. (*Cheers.*) I hope the union will not be very distant. It may not be left to me to realize the sight, but it is highly gratifying to me that we are here assembled together, delegates from the North and from the South, from the East and from the West, all anxious to join as members of one nation for the good of our country. Addressing those of my own race, I can tell you that there was a time when our forefathers lived as one single race. Circumstances led to their dispersion, and parochial hedges of various kinds kept them apart. It is therefore not a matter of small rejoicing that we should have surmounted those difficulties and come together. The Aryan blood that courses in my veins is the same which vivifies you, and as blood is thicker than water, I take the highest delight in being able to welcome my long separated brethren. (*Loud cheers.*) Pardon me, gentlemen, if in the exuberance of my emotion I have forgotten for one moment only the Mahomedan gentlemen who have graced this meeting with their presence. They are as much welcome as the people of my own race. I welcome them with all my heart, and I look upon their presence here to-day as a guarantee of this being truly a National Congress. Without them we might have felt that we were at a marriage party without the bride. Diverse we are in origin, in religion, in language, and in our manners and customs, but we are not the less members of the same nation. (*Cheers.*) We live in the same country, we are subjects of the same Sovereign, and our good and evil depends entirely on the state of the Government and the laws passed in this country. Whatever is beneficial to the Hindus is equally beneficial to the Mahomedans, and whatever is injurious to the Hindus is equally injurious to the followers of Mahomed. Nations are not made of sects but of tribes bound together in one political bond. (*Loud and prolonged cheering.*) We are all bound by the same political bond, and therefore we constitute one nation. I behold in this Congress the dawn of a better and a happier day for India. I look upon it as the quickening of a new life. For long, our fathers lived and we have lived as individuals only, or as families, but henceforward I hope we shall be living as a nation, united one and all to promote our welfare and the welfare of our mother country. (*Cheers.*) That is the great object of this Congress, and if you bear that in mind, I am sure there will be no difference of opinion as to the propriety of our receiving each other in brotherly love and trying our best to secure the utmost union possible. It would be absurd to suppose that we can for one moment secure perfect union. We know that Jesus Christ failed to secure perfect union in the body of his disciples, and out of 250 millions of people, you must find that we have many more than one disciple who is opposed to us.

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* "Statesman and Friend of India," December 28th, 1886. For more detailed notices of and remarks of the Press on the Congress see Appendix V.

"There has been a good deal written lately about the impropriety of this Congress, about the injustice we do to the Government by holding these meetings. (*Here Mr. A. O. Hume entered the Hall amidst loud and deafening applause.*) I shall not stop to refer to the scandalous and absurd charges which have been hurled against us about our being a discontented people, a band of wire-pullers and professional agitators. I would not say one word against those who complain of our being disloyal; for such charges are beneath contempt. But there are others who are more moderate in their tone and in the charges they bring against us and therefore are more injurious in their action. For instance, we have been told that we are trying to force the hand of Government. What is meant by that, I must confess, I do not clearly understand. As an old man, it has been my habit occasionally to cut in for a hand at whist. I know that in this position it is an object with the players to force the hand of their opponents. But are we really forcing the hand of our opponent, the Government? Do we really look upon the Government as an opponent? It is understood in the game that my opponent has some card, some honour, some trumps, which he is not at all disposed to let me know. Has the Government any such thing? Does the Government desire that there should be something kept secret and away from the public, and which we are trying to force the Government to disclose? No. Those who say so libel the Government. It is altogether wrong to suppose that the Government is holding anything away from us; and we cannot try therefore to force the hands of the Government, when they contain nothing that would not be given to us freely. Again, we have been told, we must have a policy of confidence in the Government. I would say at once, away with such nonsense. I will never have a policy of confidence. A policy of confidence implies the simulation of a merit which we do not possess; it is the simulation of a feeling which we do not really feel. If we really have confidence in the Government, we need not adopt any policy or semblance of it. We have perfect confidence in the Government, and therefore it is absurd to talk of 'adopting a policy of confidence.' Let those who have no confidence in the Government, but who have their own purposes to serve, say they have 'a policy of confidence.' We shall have none of it. (*Loud cheers.*)

"We have again been told that the Government should not be obliged to precipitate their action; that they have already adopted a resolution for enquiry, and that we should not oblige them to come to a conclusion without such enquiry. But are we doing so? Do you for a moment believe that by assembling here to-day and taking into consideration all those subjects which concern us most, we are forestalling the decision of the Government? The Government has itself said that the Public Service Commission is of a judicial character, and that the whole business depends on the evidence produced before it. Who is to produce the evidence for the whole people of the country if the men of light and leading, who are our leaders in every respect, should keep away and be prevented from joining together and deliberating in the manner in which they can put forth the most reliable evidence? We are only preparing the evidence, and not forestalling the action of the Government. If you were to say, as they have said, that we force resolutions instead of allowing time for consideration, the same may be said of those gentlemen of the long robe who take up so much of the time of our judges in discussing matters before the judges have made up their minds. There is no pretence whatever to say we have not the utmost confidence in the judges of the High Court, and the other great Courts of the country. We all have the utmost confidence in the judges. Still we deem it necessary, for the interest of our cause, that we should employ the gentlemen of the long robe to explain matters to the judges; we desire that our cases shall be put rightly before them. This is an analogous case, and we want our delegates of mature judgment to consider the evidence and put it in ship-shape, so that it may be laid before the Government with perfect confidence of success, and may enable the Government to see through our cause much better. (*Cheers.*) If it be true that the Government is superseded, by such action, the same may be said of the judges, and the consequence would be that if the gentlemen of the long robe insisted on not interfering with the discretion of the judges during trial, they would very soon find their green bags to be empty. There are some other charges made, but they are all of the same stamp, and I shall not take up your time by dwelling on them, for I must leave ample time to my successor to deliver his inaugural address. I will, however, in this connexion tell you a thing which occurred to me two years ago. As President of the British Indian Association, I took a deep interest in organizing the opposition to the Bengal Tenancy Bill, and I asked a Hindu gentleman,—I am particular to say a Hindu gentleman,—to join the opposition. He said, no, he would not. And why so? 'Because my Collector won't like it.' 'But what do you care about your Collector; your interests are involved?' 'But you require a subscription from me, and if I join you, I shall lose my money and I shall lose the good graces of my Collector. You will not lose your case, because I keep back; if you win, I shall derive the full benefit and I shall retain the friendship of the Collector and my money; if you lose, you lose all, but I shall still have the benefit of the Collector's good graces and my money.' Is there anything like this feeling somewhere which makes people keep away from this conference? It is not for me to attribute motives, but I found that in one case, and it is not out of my way to bring it to the notice of the Congress.

"The subjects which you will have to consider are so varied and so diverse in character, and they will be expatiated upon so fully by my friend who will soon occupy this chair, that I shall not take up time by going through them *seriatim*. The most important of them is the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils. I look upon that as the corner-stone of all the topics of political condition. (*Loud cheers.*) Nothing can be done, nothing will be advantageous, as long as our legislatures are in their present condition. All other things dwindle into very little, when you place beside them this primary consideration, the reconstitution and reformation of the Legislative Councils. Nor is this a matter in which we have for the first time conceived any idea. Time was when our laws were passed *in camera*, in the Council Chamber, with closed doors, and when nobody knew anything of how our laws were fashioned, until they were read, passed, and published in the Gazette. The Government itself felt that that was not a very fair way of doing business. The Government itself wanted co-operation from without, and the first step taken was to appoint a native gentleman of vast experience and illimitable judicial lore to lend his aid to the maturing of bills. This was, however, a very poor substitute for better representation; it was a procedure which was felt to be utterly worthless, and in a few years it was set aside. The Councils' Act under which we now live is a great improvement on the past. It has given you several persons in the Council instead of only one adviser, but the evil arose from the several persons who were appointed not being representatives of anybody but themselves (*cheers*); they represented no one but their own good interests (*cheers*); they were selected, I will not say how or with what motive, but we know that they were selected so as to produce more ornament than usefulness. (*Cheers.*) We have heard with reference to ladies what Mrs. Grundy sometimes calls heaps of millinery, and we had several such; there were others who acted with perfection as dummies; others who had taken up the rôle of *ap ke waste's*. (*Cheers.*) But whether as *ap ke wastes*, as dummies, or as heaps of millinery, they were just the men not wanted. When I say this, I must not forget that there were some who were my personal friends, and better men India did not produce. But they were few. They were not able to cope with the overwhelming dead weight of the official majority that rested upon them, and their usefulness was minimised. If by the action of Government at three different stages you see that it has been felt expedient to alter the constitution of the Councils for the preparation of our laws, there is nothing disloyal or improper if we once more say 'let us take another step forward.' The goal may not be reached for some time, but our grand children might come to it. At present, we want only one step forward: for nomination by the authorities, nomination in any case of an irresponsible character, we want election by those whom the elected are to represent. This is the primary object of our agitation with regard to the Legislative Councils. Let the representatives be elected. (*Cheers.*) Let the system be whatever the Government in its wisdom may think proper, but let the policy be a policy of representation, and let there be a sufficient number of representatives to make the feelings and wants of the people fully heard by the Government. We live not under a National Government, we live under a foreign bureaucracy (*cheers*); our foreign rulers under the peculiar circumstances of the case are foreigners by birth, religion, language, habits—everything that divides humanity into different sections. They cannot possibly dive into our hearts; they cannot ascertain our wants and feelings and aspirations. (*Cheers.*) It is impossible for them to do so. They may try their best, and I have no reason to doubt that many of our Governors have tried hard to ascertain our feelings and our wants; but owing to their peculiar position, they have failed to ascertain them. Therefore, what we want is to have a sufficient number of men to represent the people, each bringing his quota of knowledge of the requirements of a particular section of the community. (*Cheers.*) Perhaps it is not for this Congress to decide the number of such representatives; it would be for the Government to decide. But this much is clear, that in all honesty we do want a much larger number than at present.

"There is one point in connection with the Legislative Councils which I must not forget, and that is the right of interpellation. (*Cheers.*) At present, owing to the peculiar circumstances of the Government, there is no interchange of opinion, each party having the right to express its views. We have thus to make our guesses as to what others think, and many Acts which are most useful in their way, many orders of an administrative kind which are most necessary and judicious, are announced in the pages of the Gazette without a single word of explanation, and the people cannot help doubting the good faith of those who pass them. A single question in the Council Chamber would at once explain the matter; and therefore we think that as a matter of justice it is extremely important that whatever might be the constitution of the Legislative Councils, we should have the right of interpellation. (*Loud cheering.*)

"With regard to the other subjects before the Congress there is one only to which I shall refer, and that is the Public Service question. It is not so important, not nearly so vitally important, as the question of the reconstitution of the Councils; it is rather a narrow question and has a bad stamp on its face, an anxiety on our part to get the loaves and fishes; but still it is a very important question; because, without taking into account the money point of view, the nation have a right to demand that they shall have the privilege of serving their own country. (*Cheers.*) This is a right inalienable from the people in all other parts of the world. It has been conceded even by the Czar of Russia, and I hold that the keeping it away from us is a grave injustice. (*Loud cheers.*) That this deprivation should be done away with is a matter which should occupy your foremost attention. True, it may be said that at present the people can go to England and enter into the Civil Service, but it is such a mockery that the man who tells it is either joking with me or actually insulting me. The question is, that we should send our children, at the age of 16, five thousand miles away for three years together for the purpose of passing an examination of the strictest possible kind. The odds are against them, the prizes are few, and the blanks numerous, and the risks of sojourn by youths without guardians in a large metropolis, teeming with temptation, are most serious. As a matter of fact, several Indian youths have returned from England as raving maniacs. Parents must be foolhardy indeed who, in the face of these facts, will venture to send their children to England at the age of 16. But suppose the age is raised by two years. Would that satisfy all your demand? I say, nay. For the service of one's country, in no part of the world is a person called away from his native land to pass an examination. (*Cheers.*) Canada is under the British Government. But Her Majesty the Queen-Empress does not require that every French subject there shall go to England to pass an examination before being admitted into the Canadian service. Nothing of the kind is required in the Cape Colonies, nor in Australia, nor in Ceylon. And what is true of them is true of any other country which is a foreign dependency. Why should then the case be different in India alone? The rule here is that no man should be allowed to serve the country without running the great risks which await them in England, without having to expatriate himself for three years, and come home to be excluded from caste. This is a great grievance too and it is one regarding which every Hindu and every Mahomedan gentleman has a right to make a strong protest. I do not deny for a moment that there are advantages in going to England, intellectual and moral, of a very high order (*loud cheers*), and I would be the last to put an embargo on any one going to England. But I hold that it should not be made a *sine qua non* for appointment under the Government. It is just as bad as the Czar's mandate which will allow no man to become a high officer unless a Mahomedan Ali Khan changes his name to Alikhanoff. Our Sovereign, Her Gracious Majesty the Empress, would be the last to show that she is in this respect on a par with the Czar of Russia, and I hope therefore that those who will take the subject into consideration will not lose sight of this important point.

"I shall say nothing further with regard to the subjects which will come before you, and I shall close by simply urging that whatever you do and say, and whatever policy you mature, bear in mind that of all things moderation is of the utmost importance. (*Cheers.*) Let your speakers speak moderately; let your schemes be moderate; and let your resolutions be so framed that *no* Government can have any occasion to complain of want of moderation. That is what I am particularly anxious to ensure, and I hope your Committee and your Congress men will bear this fact prominently in mind.

"I shall say nothing more, but repeat our welcome to the gentlemen here assembled and leave the matter to your consideration." (*Prolonged cheering.*)

Baboo Joykissen Mookerjee (*Bengal No.* 230) then rose and said: "I have the honour to move that Mr. Naoroji be elected President of this Congress. I do not think that because our Bombay friends did us the high honour of electing our distinguished countryman, Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, as President of the Congress held last year at Bombay, we are therefore bound to return the compliment by electing a Bombay gentleman to the chair at the present Congress. But happily we have, in Mr. Naoroji, a gentleman who would do honour to any assembly over which he might be called upon to preside. (*Cheers.*) Warm devotedness to his country, a life spent in active participation of every public movement for her welfare, distinguished abilities, and singular moderation both in aspirations and expressions,—what more could be desired in one whom we wish to guide the deliberations of the Congress. (*Vociferous cheering.*) The task before him is far from a difficult or disagreeable one. The assembly over which we are about to request him to preside, is not one composed of village Parnells, met together for the purpose of giving vent to disloyal feelings, or expressing their discontent with the Government of the country (*loud cheers*), but to take advantage of the Jubilee year for giving expression to their feelings of loyalty to the Throne (*loud cheers*), to offer thanksgiving and prayer for the incalculable benefits which have been conferred on them by Her Gracious Majesty's Government (*cheers*), and to lay at the foot of the Throne their humble suggestions for such improvements in the administration of the country as they humbly think are required if that administration is to keep pace with the spread of education and enlightenment, and with the progress of the country. (*Loud and continued cheers.*) It is no wonder that objects such as these should have drawn together distinguished gentlemen from all parts of the country, when you find a blind old man like myself of 79 years of age bending under the infirmities of age, taking a part in the deliberations." (*Loud and enthusiastic cheers.*)

NAWAB REZA ALI KHAN BAHADUR (*Lucknow, No.* 167) then rose and seconded Baboo Joy Kissen Mookerjee's proposition. He said (*speaking in Urdu*): "Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—It is with the greatest pleasure that I rise to second the proposal just made by my venerable colleague, that the Honourable Dadabhai Naoroji should be the President of this National Congress, and I think I express only the universal opinion of the entire assemblage, when I assert that no fitter President could possibly be found than our veteran patriot whose entire life has been spent in advocating the cause and endeavouring to improve the condition of the people of India. (*Cheers.*)

"This, gentleman, is a subject on which I need not enlarge. You all know as well as myself, indeed many of you better, what strong claims Mr. Naoroji has established on the gratitude of his country. To dilate on the subject would be sheer waste of time. But there is one subject on which I must entreat you to permit me to say a few words before I close. I find to my astonishment that some people here in Calcutta are going about saying, and even printing in the newspapers, if these have been correctly translated to me, that the Mahomedans of India have no interest in this Congress, and have no intention of joining their Hindu brethren in the efforts, of which this Congress is one result, to obtain for the nation at large some instalment of their rights as free subjects. No assertions, gentlemen, could be more baseless, more false, more utterly preposterous than these. (*Loud and prolonged cheers.*) In the part of the country whence I have come, where we Musselmen number some millions, Hindus and Mahomedans have ever lived together in amity so far as differences of creed is concerned. We have had plenty of fighting in past times amongst ourselves no doubt, but it has not been over religious matters. There have been parties, but these parties have not been Mahomedans against Hindus, but *one* set of Mahomedans *and* Hindus against *another* set of Mahomedans *and* Hindus. For hundreds of years, as history shows, we have worked together without ever dreaming that there could be any differences in our worldly interests, because some of us worship one way and some of us another. We are not educated —more the pity—and hence it is that I am unable to address you this day in English; but yet you see, though fully aware that in consequence of this ignorance of mine I should understand but little of the proceedings, I have travelled 700 miles to this Congress to show on my own behalf, and on that of my co-religionists, how real our interest, how deep our sympathy, is in this great National movement. (*Enthusiastic cheering.*) To all of you I say, without distinction of race or creed, in this endeavour to secure their rights for the people of India, we Mahomedans are with you with our whole hearts. The Association that has done us the honour of deputing us is largely composed of leading Mahomedans, Nawabs, Wasikadars, political pensioners, and scions of the once Royal House of Oudh, and I assure you that our Association and my brother Mahomedans, generally, of Oudh, will utterly repudiate and condemn any unworthy attempt to create dissensions in our ranks by unfounded statements as to our supposed want of sympathy with the present movement. Hindus or Mahomedans, Parsees or Sikhs, we are one people *now* (whatever our ancestors 800 years ago may have been), and our public interests are indivisible and identical. Gentlemen, I pray you disregard any such slanders. We Mahomedans (at least those of us in any way capable of thinking at all) think just as all thinking Hindus do on these public questions, and believe me when I say that you will ever find us side by side with you in every legal constitutional endeavour to raise the political status of the people of our common home and country." (*Prolonged cheering.*)

MR. HAMID ALI KHAN (*Oudh, No.* 168) gave a brief summary of this eloquent speech in English for the benefit of those few delegates who did not understand Urdu; and he went on to say: "On my own part I desire to say that I endorse every word of my friend Nawab Reza Ali's speech. I can assure you that whatever individuals may do, we Mahomedans are not going as a body to exclude ourselves from the national councils. (*Cheers.*) We are one with our fellow countrymen, we are one with all, be they of what country they may, who desire the glory and freedom of India and the welfare and prosperity of her people. (*Loud cheering.*) If any Mahomedans do keep aloof from these political movements, it is not on account of any antagonism to persons of other religious persuasions, but on account of their want of education and necessary failure to understand the importance of these movements. (*Cheers.*) I can assure you that, though there may be individual exceptions, and you cannot expect everybody to be of precisely the same opinion on all points, the great bulk of the, in any degree, educated Mahomedans throughout the country are with you and for you in all you aim at, and will always be glad and proud to be associated with you in your efforts to benefit our common country and to afford you ever fresh and fresh proofs of our sincere desire to assist and co-operate with you in all your undertakings."

The proposition was then put and carried with the greatest enthusiasm, loud and persistent cheers being given for Mr. Naoroji and then "one cheer more," a hurricane of cheers, was given "for the Mahomedan community and the National Unity."

Dr. Rajendralala Mitra then amidst tumultuous applause declared Mr. Naoroji elected by acclamation and installed him in the chair.

THE HON. DADABHAI NAOROJI (*Bombay, No.* 48), President of the Congress, said: "I need not tell you how sincerely thankful I am to you for placing me in this position of honour. I at first thought that I was to be elevated to this proud position as a return for what might be considered as a compliment paid by us to Bengal when Mr. Bonnerjee was elected President of the first Congress last year at Bombay. I can assure you however that that election was no mere compliment to Bengal, but arose out of the simple fact that we regarded Mr. Bonnerjee as a gentleman eminently qualified to take the place of President, and we installed him in that position in all sincerity as the proper man in the proper place. I now see, however, that this election of my humble self is not intended as a return of compliment, but that, as both proposer and seconder have said, you have been kind enough to select me because I am supposed to be really qualified to undertake the task. I hope it may prove so and that I may be found really worthy of all the kind things said of me; but whether this be so, or not, when such kind things are said by those who occupy such high positions amongst us, I must say I feel exceedingly proud and am very grateful to all for the honour thus done me. (*Loud cheering.*)

"Your late Chairman has heartily welcomed all the delegates who come from different parts of India, and with the same heartiness I return to him, and all our Bengal friends on my own behalf and on that of all the delegates from other Provinces, the most sincere thanks for the cordial manner in which we have been received. From what has been done already, and from what is in store for us during our short stay here, I have no doubt we shall carry away with us many and most pleasant reminiscences of our visit to Calcutta. (*Cheers.*)

"You will pardon me, and I beg your indulgence when I say that when I was asked only two days ago to become your President and to give an inaugural address, it was with no small trepidation that I agreed to undertake the task; and I hope that you will extend to me all that indulgence which my shortcomings may need. (*Loud cheers.*)

"The assemblage of such a Congress is an event of the utmost importance in Indian history. I ask whether in the most glorious days of Hindu rule, in the days of Rajahs like the great Vikram, you could imagine the possibility of a meeting of this kind, where even Hindus of all different provinces of the kingdom could have collected and spoken as one nation. Coming down to the later Empire of our friends, the Mahomedans, who probably ruled over a larger territory at one time than any Hindu monarch, would it have been, even in the days of the great Akbar himself, possible for a meeting like this to assemble composed of all classes and communities, all speaking one language, and all having uniform and high aspirations of their own.

"Well, then what is it for which we are now met on this occasion? We have assembled to consider questions upon which depend our future, whether glorious or inglorious. It is our good fortune that we are under a rule which makes it possible for us to meet in this manner. (*Cheers.*) It is under the civilizing rule of the Queen and people of England that we meet here together, hindered by none, and are freely allowed to speak our minds without the least fear and without the least hesitation. Such a thing is possible under British rule and British rule only. (*Loud cheers.*) Then I put the *question* plainly: Is this Congress a nursery for sedition and rebellion against the British Government (*cries of no, no*); or is it another stone in the foundation of the stability of that Government (*cries of yes, yes*)? There could be but one answer, and that you have already given, because we are thoroughly sensible of the numberless blessings conferred upon us, of which the very existence of this Congress is a proof in a nutshell. (*Cheers.*) Were it not for these blessings of British rule I could not have come here, as I have done, without the least hesitation and without the least fear that my children might be robbed and killed in my absence; nor could you have come from every corner of the land, having performed, within a few days, journeys which in former days would have occupied as many months. (*Cheers.*) These simple facts bring home to all of us at once some of those great and numberless blessings which British rule has conferred upon us. But there remain even greater blessings for which we have to be grateful. It is to British rule that we owe the education we possess; the people of England were sincere in the declarations made more than half a century ago that India was a sacred charge entrusted to their care by Providence, and that they were bound to administer it for the good of India, to the glory of their own name, and the satisfaction of God. (*Prolonged cheering.*) When we have to acknowledge so many blessings as flowing from British rule—and

I could descant on them for hours, because it would simply be recounting to you the history of the British Empire in India—is it possible that an assembly like this, every one of whose members is fully impressed with the knowledge of these blessings, could meet for any purpose inimical to that rule to which we owe so much? (*Cheers.*)

"The thing is absurd. Let us speak out like men and proclaim that we are loyal to the backbone (*cheers*); that we understand the benefits English rule has conferred upon us; that we thoroughly appreciate the education that has been given to us, the new light which has been poured upon us, turning us from darkness into light and teaching us the new lesson that kings are made for the people, not peoples for their kings; and this new lesson we have learned amidst the darkness of Asiatic despotism only by the light of free English civilization. (*Loud cheers.*) But the question is, do the Government believe us? Do they believe that we are really loyal to them; that we do truly appreciate and rely on British rule; that we veritably desire its permanent continuance; that our reason is satisfied and our sentimental feelings gratified as well as our self interest? It would be a great gratification to us if we could see in the inauguration of a great movement like this Congress, that what we do really mean and desire is thoroughly and truly so understood by our rulers. I have the good fortune to be able to place before you testimony which cannot be questioned, from which you will see that some at least of the most distinguished of our rulers do believe that what we say is sincere; and that we do *not* want to subvert British rule; that our outspoken utterances are as much for their good as for our good. They do believe, as Lord Ripon said, that what is good for India is good for England. I will give you first the testimony as regards the educated classes which was given 25 years ago by Sir Bartle Frere. He possessed an intimate knowledge of the people of this country, and with regard to the educated portion of them he gave this testimony. He said: 'And now wherever I go I find the best exponents of the policy of the English Government, and the most able co-adjutors in adjusting that policy to the peculiarities of the natives of India, among the ranks of the educated natives.' This much at least is testimony to our sincerity, and strongly corroborates our assertion that we, the educated classes, have become the true interpreters and mediators between the masses of our countrymen and our rulers. I shall now place before you the declaration of the Government of India itself, that they have confidence in the loyalty of the whole people, and do appreciate the sentiments of the educated classes in particular. I will read their very words. They say in a despatch addressed to the Secretary of State (8th June 1880): 'But the people of India accept British rule without any need for appeal to arms, because we keep the peace and do justice, because we have done and are doing much material good to the country and the people, and because there is not inside or outside India any power that can adequately occupy our place.' Then they distinctly understand that we do believe the British power to be the only power that can, under existing circumstances, really keep the peace, and advance our future progress. This is testimony as to the feeling of the whole people. But of the educated classes this despatch says: 'To the minds of at least the educated among the people of India—and the number is rapidly increasing—any idea of the subversion of British power is abhorrent, from the consciousness that it must result in the wildest anarchy and confusion.' (*Loud cheers.*)

"We can, therefore, proceed with the utmost serenity and with every confidence that our rulers do understand us; that they do understand our motives, and give credit to our expressions of loyalty, and we need not in the least care for any impeachment of disloyalty or any charge of harbouring wild ideas of subverting the British power that may be put forth by ignorant, irresponsible or ill-disposed individuals or cliques. (*Loud cheers.*) We can therefore quietly, calmly and with entire confidence in our rulers, speak as freely as we please, but of course in that spirit of fairness and moderation which becomes wise and honest men, and in the tone which every gentleman, every reasonable being, would adopt when urging his rulers to make him some concession. (*Hear, hear.*) Now although, as I have said, the British Government have done much, very much for us, there is still a great deal more to be done if their noble work is to be fitly completed. They say this themselves; they show a desire to do what more may be required, and it is for us to ask for whatsoever, after due deliberation, we think that we ought to have. (*Cheers.*)

"Therefore, having said thus much, and having cleared the ground so that we may proceed freely and in all confidence with the work of our Congress, I must at once come to the matter with which I should have commenced had I not purposely postponed it until I had explained the relations between ourselves and our rulers; and that is the most happy and auspicious occasion which the coming year is to bring us, *viz.*, the Jubilee of our good Queen-Empress' reign. (*Loud cheers.*) I am exceedingly glad that the Congress has thought it right to select this as the subject of the initial resolution, and in this to express, in humble but hearty terms, their congratulations to our Gracious Empress. (*Cheers.*) There is even more reason for us to congratulate ourselves on having for half a century enjoyed the rule of a Sovereign graced with every virtue, and truly worthy to reign over that vast Empire on which the sun never sets. (*Loud cheers.*) That she may live long, honoured and beloved, to continue for yet many years that beneficial and enlightened rule with which she has so long reigned, must be the heartfelt prayer of every soul in India. (*Prolonged cheering.*)

"And here you must pardon me if I digress a moment from those subjects which this Congress proposes to discuss to one of those which we do not consider to fall within the legitimate sphere of its deliberations.

"It has been asserted that this Congress ought to take up questions of social reforms (*cheers and cries of yes, yes*) and our failure to do this has been urged as a reproach against us. Certainly no member of this National Congress is more alive to the necessity of social reforms than I am; but, gentlemen, for everything there are proper times, proper circumstances, proper parties and proper places (*cheers*); we are met together as a political body to represent to our rulers our political aspirations, not do discuss social reforms, and if you blame us for ignoring these you should equally blame the House of Commons for not discussing the abstruser problems of mathematics or metaphysics. But, besides this, there are here Hindus of every caste, amongst whom, even in the same provinces, customs and social arrangements differ widely,—there are Mahomedans and Christians of various denominations, Parsees, Sikhs, Brahmos and what not—men indeed of each and all of those numerous classes which constitute in the aggregate the people of India. (*Loud cheers.*) How can this gathering of *all* classes discuss the social reforms needed in each individual class? What do any of us know of the internal home life, of the customs, traditions, feelings, prejudices of any class but our own? How could a gathering, a cosmopolitan gathering like this, discuss to any purpose the reforms needed in any one class? Only the members of that class can effectively deal with the reforms therein needed. A National Congress must confine itself to questions in which the entire nation has a direct participation, and it must leave the adjustment of social reforms and other class questions to class Congresses. But it does not follow that, because this national, political body does not presume to discuss social reforms, the delegates here present are not just as deeply, nay, in many cases far more deeply, interested in these questions than in those political questions we do discuss, or that those several communities whom those delegates represent are not doing their utmost to solve those complicated problems on which hinge the practical introduction of those reforms. Any man who has eyes and ears open must know what struggles towards higher and better things are going on in every community: and it could not be otherwise with the noble education we are receiving. Once you begin to think about your own actions, your duties and responsibilities to yourself, your neighbours and your nation, you cannot avoid looking round and observing much that is wrong amongst you; and we know as a fact that each community is now doing its best according to its lights, and the progress that it has made in education. I need not I think particularise. The Mahomedans know what is being done by persons of their community to push on the education their brethren so much need; the Hindus are everywhere doing what they *can* to reform those social institutions which they think require improvement. There is not one single community here represented of which the best and ablest men do not feel that much has to be done to improve the social, moral, religious status of their brethren, and in which, as a fact, they are not striving to effect, gradually, those needful improvements; but these are essentially matters too delicate for a stranger's handling—matters which must be left to the guidance of those who alone fully understand them in all their bearings, and which are wholly unsuited to discussion in an assemblage like this in which all classes are intermingled. (*Loud cheers.*)

"I shall now refer briefly to the work of the former Congress. Since it met last year, about this time, some progress, I am glad to say, has been made, and that is an encouragement and a proof that, if we do really ask what is right and reasonable, we may be sure that, sooner or later, the British Government will actually give what we ask for. We should therefore persevere, having confidence in the conscience of England, and resting assured that the English nation will grudge no sacrifice to prove the sincerity of their desire to do whatever is just and right. (*Cheers.*)

"Our first request at the last Congress was for the constitution of a Royal Commission. Unfortunately the authorities in England have not seen their way to grant a Royal Commission. They say it will upset the authorities here; that it will interfere with the prestige and control of the Government here. I think that this is a very poor compliment to our rulers on this side. If I understand a man like Lord Dufferin, of such vast experience in administration, knowing, as he does, what it is to rule an empire, it would be impossible for him to be daunted and frightened by a commission making enquiries here. I think this argument a very poor one, and we must once more say that to the inhabitants of India a Parliamentary Committee taking evidence in England alone can never be satisfactory, for the simple reason that what the Committee will learn by the ear will never enable them to understand what they ought to see with their eyes if they are to realize what the evidence of the witnesses really means. Still, however, it is so far satisfactory that, notwithstanding the change of Government and the vicissitudes which this poor Parliamentary Committee has undergone, it is the intention of Parliament that under any and all circumstances a Committee shall be appointed. At the same time this Committee *in futuro* ties the hands of the authorities here to a large extent and prevents us from saying all we do really want.

"Another resolution on which we must report some progress was to the effect that the N. W. Provinces and the Punjab ought also to have Legislative Councils of their own. We know that the Government has just given a Legislative Council to the N. W. Provinces, and we hope that this progress may extend further and satisfy our wishes as to other provinces also.

"The fourth resolution had regard to the Service question. In this matter we really seem to have made some distinct progress. The Public Service Commission is now sitting, and if one thing more than another can prove that the Government is sincere in its desire to do something for us, this appointment of such a Commission is that thing. You perhaps remember the words which our noble Viceroy used at Poona. He said: 'However, I will say that from first to last I have been a strong advocate for the appointment of a Committee or Commission of this sort, and that when succeeding Governments in England changed, I have on each occasion warmly impressed upon the Secretary of State the necessity of persevering in the nomination of a Commission. I am happy to think that in response to my earnest representations on the subject, Her Majesty's present Ministers have determined to take action. I consequently do not really see what more during the short period I have been amongst you, the Government of India could have done for that most important and burning question which was perpetually agitating your mind, and was being put forward by the natives as an alleged injustice done to the educated native classes of this country in not allowing them adequate employment in the Public Service. I do not think you can point out to me any other question which so occupied public attention or was nearer to the hearts of your people. Now the door to inquiry has been opened, and it only remains for you, by the force of logic of your representations and of the evidence you may be able to submit, to make good your case; if you succeed in doing so, all I can say is, that nobody will be better pleased than myself. In regard to other matters, which have been equally prominent in your newspapers and your addresses, and which have been so constantly discussed by your associations, I have also done my best to secure for you an ample investigation.'

"There we have his own words as to his intentions and the efforts he made to get this Commission. This should convince us of his good faith and sympathy with us. When I think of Lord Dufferin, not only as our present Viceroy, but bearing in mind all we know of him in his past career, I should hesitate to believe that he could be a man devoid of the deepest sympathy with any people struggling to advance and improve their political condition. Some of you may remember one or two extracts which I gave in my Holborn Town Hall speech from Lord Dufferin's letters to the *Times*, and I cannot conceive that a person of such warm sympathies could fail to sympathise with us. But I may say this much that, feeling as I naturally do some interest about the views and intentions of our Viceroys and Governors, I have had the opportunity of getting some information from friends on whom I can rely and who are in a position to know the truth; and I am able to say in the words of one of these friends that 'the Viceroy's instincts are eminently liberal, and he regards with neither jealousy nor alarm the desire of the educated classes to be allowed a larger share in the administration of their own affairs. Indeed he considers it very creditable to them that they should do so.' As Viceroy he has to consider all sides of a question from the ruler's point of view, and to act as he thinks safe and proper. But we may be sure that we have his deep and very genuine sympathy, and we may fairly claim and expect much good at his hands.

"But yet further I would enquire whether the intentions of the Secretary of State for India and of the other home authorities are equally favourable to our claims. The resolution on its very face tells us what the intention of the Secretary of State is. It says: 'In regard to its object the Commission would, broadly speaking, be required to devise a scheme which may reasonably be hoped to possess the necessary elements of finality, and to do full justice to the claims of natives of India to a higher and more extensive employment in the Public Service.'

"There we have the highest authority making a declaration that he desires to do full justice to the claims of the natives of India. Now our only reply is that we are thankful for the enquiry, and we hope that we may be able to satisfy all, that what we ask is both reasonable and right.

"As another proof of the intentions of our British rulers, as far back as 53 years ago, when the natives of India did not themselves fully understand their rights, the statesmen of England of their own free will decided what the policy of England ought to be towards India. Long and important was the debate; the question was discussed from all points of view; the danger of giving political power to the people, the insufficiency of their capacity and other considerations were all fully weighed, and the conclusion was come to in unmistakable and unambiguous terms, that the policy of British rule should be a policy of justice (*cheers*), the policy of the advancement of one-sixth of the human race. (*Cheers.*) India was to be regarded as a trust placed by God in their hands, and in the due discharge of that trust they resolved that they would follow the 'plain path of duty,' as Mr. Macaulay called it; on that occasion he said, virtually, that he would rather see the people of India free and able to govern themselves, than that they should remain the bondsmen of Great Britain and the obsequious toadies of British officials. (*Cheers.*) This was the essence of the policy of 1833, and in the Act of that year it was laid down: 'That no native of the said territories, nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty resident therein shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, color or any of them be disabled from holding any place, office or employment under the said Company.' (*Prolonged cheering.*)

"We do not, we could not, ask for more than this; and all we have to press upon the Commission and Government is that they should now honestly grant us in practice here what Great Britain freely conceded to us 50 years ago, when we ourselves were too little enlightened even to ask for it. (*Loud cheers.*)

"We next passed through a time of trouble, and the British arms were triumphant. When they had completely surmounted all their difficulties, and completely vanquished all their adversaries, the English nation came forward, animated by the same high and noble resolves as before, and gave us that glorious proclamation which we should for ever prize and reverence as our Magna Charta—greater even than the Charter of 1833. I need not repeat that glorious proclamation now, for it is engraven on all your hearts (*loud cheers*); but it constitutes such a grand and glorious charter of our liberties that I think every child as it begins to gather intelligence and to lisp its mother-tongue, ought to be made to commit it to memory (*Cheers.*) In that proclamation we have again a confirmation of the policy of 1833 and something more. In it are embodied the germs of all that we aim at now, of all that we can desire hereafter. (*Cheers.*) We have only to go before the Government and the Commission now sitting and repeat it, and say that all we want is only what has already been granted to us in set terms by that proclamation, and that all we now ask for is that the great and generous concessions therein made to us in words shall actually be made ours by deeds. (*Loud cheers.*) I will not, however, enter into further details, for it is a subject on which I should be led into speaking for hours, and even then I should fail to convey to you an adequate idea of all that is in my heart. I have said enough to show our rulers that our case is complete and has been made out by themselves. (*Cheers.*) It is enough for me therefore to stop at this point.

"Another resolution is the improvement and enlargement of the Legislative Councils, and the introduction into them of an elective element, but that is one on which my predecessor in the chair has so ably descanted that I do not think I should take up more of your time with it. I need only say that in this matter we hope to make a further advance, and shall try to place before our rulers what we consider a possible scheme for the introduction of an elective element into the Legislative Councils. I need not say that if this representation is introduced, the greatest benefit will be conferred upon the Government itself, because at present whatever Acts they pass that do not quite please us, we, whether rightly or wrongly, grumble and grumble against the Government, and the Government only. It is true that we have some of our own people in the Councils. But we have no right to demand any explanation, even from them; they are not our representatives, and the Government cannot relieve themselves from any dissatisfaction we may feel against any law we don't like. If our own representatives make a mistake and get a law passed which we do not want, the Government at any rate will escape the greater portion of the consequent unpopularity. They will say—here are your own representatives; we believed that they represented your wishes, and we passed the law. On the other hand with all the intelligence, all the superior knowledge of the English officials, let them come as angels from heaven, it is impossible for them to enter into the feelings of the people, and feel as they feel, and enter into their minds. (*Cheers.*) It is not any disparagement of them, but in the nature of things it cannot be otherwise. If you have therefore your representatives to represent your feelings, you will then have an opportunity of getting something which is congenial and satisfactory to yourselves; and what will be satisfactory to you must also be satisfactory to and good for the Government itself. (*Cheers.*)

"This brings me also to the point of representation in Parliament. All the most fundamental questions on which hinge the entire form and character of the administration here are decided by Parliament. No matter what it is, Legislative Councils, the Services,—nothing can be reformed until Parliament moves and enacts modifications of the existing Acts. Not one single genuine Indian voice is there in Parliament to tell at least what the native view is on any question. This was most forcibly urged upon me by English gentlemen who are in Parliament themselves; they said they always felt it to be a great defect in Parliament, that it did not contain one single genuine representative of the people of India.

"One of the questions which will be placed before this Congress and will be discussed by them, is the deep sympathy which this Congress feels for the poverty of the people. It is often understood and thought that when we struggle for admission into the Services it is simply to gratify the aspirations of the few educated. But if you examine this question thoroughly, you will find that this matter of the Public Services will go far to settle the problem of the poverty of the Indian people. One thing I congratulate myself upon. I don't trouble you with any testimony about the poverty of India. You have the testimony of Sir Evelyn Baring given only a couple of years ago, who told us in plain terms that the people of India were extremely poor, and also of the present Finance Minister who repeats those words. But amongst the several causes which are at the bottom of our sufferings, this one, and that the most important cause, is beginning to be realized by our rulers, and that is a step of the most hopeful and promising kind. In the discussion about the currency, the Secretary of State for India, in a letter to the Treasury of the 26th January 1886, makes certain remarks which show that our rulers now begin to understand and to try to grapple with the problem; and are not, ostrich-like, shutting their eyes to it. I was laughed at when I first mooted the question of the poverty of India, and assigned as one of its causes the employment of an expensive foreign agency. But now the highest authority emphasizes this view. The Secretary of State, in the letter just referred to, said: 'The position of India in relation to taxation and the sources of the public revenues is very peculiar, not merely from the habits of the people and their strong aversion to change, which is more specially exhibited towards new forms of taxation, but likewise from the character of the Government, which is in the hands of foreigners, who hold all the principal administrative offices, and form so large a part of the Army. The impatience of new taxation which would have to be borne, wholly as a consequence of the foreign rule imposed on the country and virtually to meet additions to charges arising outside of the country, would constitute a political danger, the real magnitude of which, it is to be feared, is not at all appreciated by persons who have no knowledge of, or concern in, the Government of India, but which those responsible for that Government have long regarded as of the most serious order.'

"We may be sure that the public conscience of England will ask why the natives of India, after a hundred years of British rule, are so poor; and as John Bull, in a cartoon in *Punch* is represented as doing, will wonder that India is a beggar when he thought she had a mint of money.

"Unfortunately this idea of India's wealth is utterly delusive, and if a proper system of representation in the Councils be conceded, our representatives will then be able to make clear to these Councils and to our rulers those causes which are operating to undermine our wealth and prosperity, and guide the Government to the proper remedies for the greatest of all evils—the poverty of the masses. All the benefits we have derived from British rule, all the noble projects of our British rulers, will go for nothing if after all the country is to continue sinking deeper and deeper into the abyss of destitution. At one time I was denounced as a Pessimist, but now that we have it on the authority of our rulers themselves that we are *very* poor, it has become the right, as well as the duty, of this Congress to set forth its convictions, both as to this widespread destitution and the primary steps needful for its alleviation. Nothing is more dear to the heart of England—and I speak from actual knowledge—than India's welfare; and if we only speak out loud enough, and persistently enough, to reach that busy heart, we shall not speak in vain. (*Prolonged cheering.*) There will be several other questions brought before the Congress at their Committee meetings during the next three days, and I am sure from the names of the delegates, as far as I am informed, that they will prosecute their deliberations with all possible moderation. I am sure that they will fully appreciate the benefits of the rule under which they live, while the fact that our rulers are willing to do whatever we can show them to be necessary for our welfare, should be enough to encourage all in the work. I do not know that I need now detain you with any further remarks. You have now some idea of what progress has been made in respect of the matters which were discussed last year. I hope we may congratulate ourselves next year that we have made further progress in attaining the objects alike of the past year's resolutions and those we may this year pass. I for one am hopeful that, if we are only true to ourselves, if we only do justice to ourselves and the noble education which has been given to us by our rulers and speak freely, with the freedom of speech which has been granted to us, we may fairly expect our Government to listen to us and to grant us our reasonable demands. (*Loud cheers.*)

"I will conclude this short address by repeating my sincere thanks to all of you for having placed me in this honourable position and by again returning thanks to our Bengal brethren on behalf of all the delegates whom they have so cordially welcomed here."

On the President resuming his seat, amidst the most energetic and prolonged cheering, **Baboo Joy Kissen Mookerjee** (*Bengal, No.* 230) again rose and said: "It is I am sure with great pleasure that we have all listened to the impressive inaugural address of our President. If our proceedings are conducted with that moderation and dignity which have characterised his eloquent address, I have no doubt that we shall disarm all adverse criticism. Some of the schemes for administrative reform sketched out by the Honourable Mr. Dadabhai might appear almost too ambitious, but we must bear in mind that to a subject people, on whom has been conferred the inestimable boon of a Free Press, there are few privileges, that a governing nation can grant, which can be fairly characterized as too ambitious for us to crave.

"The India of to-day is very different from the India of 1835. And yet the boon of a Free Press was conceded in that distant past more than half a century ago, when our rulers were comparatively new to the country, when the very loyalty of the people was problematical, when the Government had but just recovered from the effects of the Mahratta war, when hostilities with the Afghans seemed inevitable, and when several of the Native Chiefs were anything but friendly to the British Crown. The Court of Directors expressed a strong apprehension that the concession of this privilege would imperil the very existence of their Government, but Sir Charles Metcalfe was firm, and the wisdom of the English people allowed him to render his short term of office as Governor-General memorable in the annals of Indian Administration by the emancipation of the Press From a people who showed such liberality and magnanimity at a time of danger and unrest, we can hardly ask too much, in the way of administrative reforms, in these days of profound peace, when India is daily becoming more and more an integral part of Great Britain, and her people more and more devoted to the principles (though they may object to some of the methods) of British rule. Standing as I do, one of the few remaining links between the Old India of the past and the New India of to-day, I can scarcely hope to see or enjoy the fruit of those labours on which this Congress and the nation it represents is entering; but I am glad to have lived to see this new departure, and if an old man's sympathy and good wishes can aid or encourage you in the noble work you are undertaking, I can say from the bottom of my heart that that sympathy and those good wishes are already yours. Be wise, be moderate and above all be persevering, and the success that you will then deserve will assuredly be yours." (*Loud and prolonged cheering.*)

A very large number* of telegrams and other communications from all parts of the Empire (excluding Burmah), conveying congratulations to, or expressing sympathy with, the Congress were laid on the table, and one telegram from Hyderabad, which ran as follows, was read by the President:—

"The Mahomedans of Upper† and Southern India fully sympathise with the objects of the Congress, and wish it Godspeed. They deeply regret their Calcutta brethren keeping off, and trust they will still join." (*Loud cheers.*)

The crowd and the heat had been very trying, and the President announced that next day the Congress would sit in Committee in the rooms of the British Indian Association.

THE MAHARAJAH SIR JOTENDRO MOHUN TAGORE, K.C.S.I. (*Bengal, No.* 228) then rose and proposed a vote of thanks to the Chair, which was seconded and carried with prolonged cheering.

After this gentlemen rose simultaneously in all parts of the Hall, allotted to the delegates, and proposed "three cheers for the Queen-Empress and God bless her," which elicited such a prolonged storm of cheers, renewed and renewed over and over again, that only some of the delegates were aware that cheers were also, just at the close, given for His Excellency the Viceroy.

The Congress then adjourned till the next day.

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* A selection of these will be found in Appendix IV.

† A mistake, as it appeared for *Deccan*.

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Tuesday, 28th December, 1887,

AT THE ROOMS OF THE BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION.

THE delegates having assembled, the HON. DADABHAI NAOROJI (*Bombay, No.* 48), the President, said: "Brother delegates, let me first thank you once more for having assigned to me this post of honor. We now meet here 'in Committee,' as I might say, to go on with our business, which we must transact in a proper manner, and not expect long speeches. I hope that every speaker will limit his speech to a duration of five minutes, but in no case should this exceed ten. In that way only can we hope to get through all the business on the list which has been prepared. We are here, as you are aware, delegates from different parts of the country—Bengal, the North-West Provinces, Oudh, the Punjab, Bombay, Madras; so we can congratulate ourselves on the progress which has now been made, and I hope and pray it may be the beginning of the political union of the whole nation in order to the advance of the whole nation. I shall set an example of brevity myself by being satisfied with the one minute for which I have detained you, and begin the business at once."

MR. R. M. SAYANI (*Bombay, No.* 54) then rose and said: "I have great pleasure in moving the first resolution, *viz.*, "that this Congress of Delegates from all parts of India do humbly offer its dutiful and loyal congratulations to Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen-Empress on the approaching completion of the first half century of her memorable, beneficent and glorious reign, and heartily wish her many, many more and happy, years of rule over the great British Empire." (*Resolution I of the Summary, page* 41.) I can assure you that no task could be more congenial, no honor more acceptable, than that of being allowed to move this resolution. The worth, the virtues of the great Sovereign, who rules over us, are too well known to, and too gratefully realized by, all of you to need much talking about, and I shall therefore confine myself to a very few remarks. Gentlemen, all the subjects of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress are well aware of the very noble and excellent qualities, which adorn Her Majesty. (*Loud cheers.*) Her solicitude for all her subjects, including her Indian subjects, is so well understood that her sacred name is revered throughout the country. (*Cheers.*) I shall therefore now make only a few suggestions as to how, on the coming auspicious occasion of Her Majesty's year of Jubilee, the country might practically give proof of the love and reverence that they bear her. I would suggest that one and the same day be fixed for celebrating the Jubilee of the Queen-Empress all over the country, and that at one and the same time there should be illuminations all over the country and that subscriptions should be limited to some small sum, say Rs. 10, or even less, so that all but the very poorest of Her Majesty's subjects may be able to testify, by a contribution to the fund, the earnest and deep feelings of loyalty and love which animate one and all of us. (*Cheers.*) But I see that I am travelling somewhat from the scope of the resolution which I rose to move, and which, all unnecessary as I feel this to be, I now commend to your most hearty acceptance." (*Prolonged cheering.*)

LALA MURLIDHUR (*Punjab, No.* 107), in seconding the motion, said: "A great many Anglo-Indians charge the natives of India with being seditious and mutinous, and I admit that, in one sense, we are all that. But how are we that? We are seditious and mutinous against false imputations. But I go further and confess myself guilty of a more terrible thing. I admit that I am a murderer of the blackest dye. But perhaps you are startled. But you should not be, for after all I am only a murderer of the Queen's English. (*Cheers and laughter.*) There is, I believe, no true-born Indian who is a more disloyal subject of Her Majesty than myself; and yet, even I, that most disloyal of all men, that worse than disloyal, that murderer as I have confessed, even I am loyal to our blessed Empress to the backbone. (*Loud cheers.*) She has given us peace and order, she has taught us in her colleges, she has given us all a common language, she has enabled me to come to Calcutta now, to go to Bombay last year, and she has done all these things for a man guilty of the horrible crime of murdering her noble language. Then think of what good nature she must be—a Queen who reigns over half the globe, whose subjects are of a hundred different races, creeds and colour; this Queen, this noble-hearted woman, this kindly lady who shields now her elder sister in her dotage, poor old India, who in olden time gave birth to heroes like Rama, Krishna and the like, but who now is unable to rear any but puny children like ourselves, and so has sought the protection of her younger sister, England. She has given us innumerable blessings, and we are grateful to her, and let us show our gratitude by shouts of congratulations that will resound even to the precincts of her far-off palace, and sink even deeper the foundations of a reverence for her reign into the hearts of the whole of India. (*Loud cheers.*) How is this Jubilee to be celebrated in India? I am not for founding magnificent buildings or anything of that sort: nothing should be done for the higher classes, but rather some tangible good work should be done for those who really need it. I am not an advocate for building palatial houses. I recommend that something should be done for the poor man, who lives on the soil of India, so that even the poor man in his hut may long joyfully remember the Jubilee of Her Gracious Majesty's reign. (*Cheers.*) If the money which is collected—and you all know that in India every event is, now-a-days, an occasion for collecting money (*laughter*)—if, I say, the money collected is thrown away in illuminations and fireworks at a few centres, or devoted (I will not *say* wasted, though I have my own ideas on this subject) to grand buildings or Institutes or the like, the people, the masses, will know little and feel nothing about the matter: the few who see the fireworks will consider the affair a treat for a single night, and to the country it will all be nothing. But if they see that some tangible good is done for them, which reaches the masses, then they will feel that the Queen Mother has been kind to them, and they will pray for the permanence of her reign. However, this is perhaps beyond what need now be said, and I will close by again heartily seconding the resolution."

MR. G. SUBRAMANIA IYER (*Madras, No.* 5) said: "Most heartily and with the greatest pleasure do I rise to support the proposition which has been made and seconded, but having said so much, the subject is one on which all of us here, the entire country, is so completely of one mind (*cheers*), that I do not think I should be justified in detaining this meeting with any further remarks." (*Cheers.*)

RAJAH RAMPAL SINGH (*Oudh, No.* 178), Talukdar of Partabgarh, said: "As regards the loyal and grateful feelings towards Her Majesty, with which the whole country is animated, there can be no doubt; and as to the necessity of testifying in some practical and unmistakable manner, now, on the occasion of her Jubilee, to the depth and sincerity of that loyalty and love, there can be no two opinions (*hear, hear*); but as to the manner in which this should be done, and as to how the funds collected for this purpose should be, and can be best, utilized, I am not sure that I altogether concur in what has fallen from previous speakers. I am disposed to think that something worthy of the occasion should be done. I do not know what is meant by doing something for each poor man. Is anything of the kind really practicable with any subscriptions (mere drops in the ocean) that we can possibly hope to collect? I venture rather to suggest—"

Here the speaker was interrupted by

MR. MANO MOHAN GHOSE (*Bengal, No.* 270), who said: "The object of the first resolution is simply to offer our congratulations to the Queen, and it is surely not necessary now to go into details as to how the Jubilee is to be celebrated. That must be left for future consideration." (*Cheers and cries of "yes," "yes," "put the resolution."*)

THE PRESIDENT accordingly, in response to the loudly expressed wishes of the Congress, formally put the resolution, which was carried by acclamation; three cheers for the Queen-Empress being called for and given with great emphasis.

MR. DINSHAW EDULJI WATCHA (*Bombay, No.* 51) said: "I have been asked to move the following resolution:—

"That this Congress regards with the deepest sympathy, and views with grave apprehension, the increasing poverty of vast numbers of the population of India, and (although aware that the Government is not overlooking this matter and is contemplating certain palliatives) desires to record its fixed conviction that the introduction of Representative Institutions will prove one of the most important practical steps towards the amelioration of the condition of the people. (*Resolution II of the Summary, page* 41.")

"*Mr. President and Gentlemen,*—The question of the poverty of the people of India is now so well understood, so thoroughly realized, that it hardly requires any words, especially from me, to elucidate or substantiate it. It is our President alone who could really have done justice to this great subject, to the exposition of which he has devoted half a lifetime, and in regard to which I am but, as it were a pupil, of his. (*Cheers.*) However, since the task has been assigned to me I will endeavour, within the limited space of time allotted to me, to touch on some few of the causes of this lamentable poverty. The root of the evil lies in the condition of the ryots. The peasantry in all parts of the country are very poor and they have grown markedly poorer since 1848. (*Hear, hear.*) There have been now and then periods of prosperity, as for instance, the prosperity of Bombay during the American war, when cotton became very dear, and the peasantry benefited by this rise in price. But, as a general rule, the condition of the peasantry, whether in the Deccan, in Madras, or in other places, has deteriorated steadily since 1848, so much so that it is now generally admitted that something like 40 millions of people (and many authorities say more) are going with only one meal a day, and sometimes do not even get that. To take, first, that part of the country with which I am personally best acquainted, we may note that the commission which sat to investigate the causes of the Deccan riots established the fact that, in consequence of the scarcity of the rainfall in the Deccan, and the high fixed rate at which the assessment was pitched, the condition of the peasantry in the Deccan had been steadily going from bad to worse. I admit that, since the Commission made its report, very laudable attempts have been made by the Bombay Government to remedy this state of affairs, but the most sanguine will not pretend that the lowest classes in the Deccan are at this day other than poor, and very poor. Again, from the information given in the Report of the Famine Commission, and the evidence of the Collector of Cuddapah and others, it would appear that the condition of the Madras peasantry is hardly better than that of their fellows in the Deccan. The Upper Provinces of India are outside my experience, but we all know, from the very admirable analysis that has been published, the whole history of the population there, and taking one division only as a type, the way in which Jhansi, a country as large as some of the smaller European kingdoms, has been ground into the dust by injudicious revenue arrangements, was very ably set forth by Mr. Robert Knight in the *London Statesman*, in papers reproduced largely in India, and doubtless familiar to you all. I am not in a position to speak much about the Bengal peasantry, but there are many here who are well acquainted with their condition, and will, doubtless, speak to it, but we may safely say this much that it is not materially better than that of their brethren elsewhere. Thus on all sides and in all provinces we seem to be met with the sad fact of the impoverished condition of the masses, and the one question is how to improve this condition. Of course there are exceptionally favoured tracts, but, broadly speaking, and taking the Empire as a whole, the produce of the land is scarcely sufficient to enable those who till it, and they constitute the bulk of the population, to meet the assessment, whether that be assessed by Government or some intermediate landholders, and eke out the barest existence, leaving no margin for carrying out any agricultural improvements or developments, all of which require an outlay of capital. It is said that the ryots themselves are partly to blame; that they are ignorant and improvident and spend whatever little money they chance, in good seasons, to acquire in marriage ceremonies and *tamashas*. This may be true to some slight extent, but, as a cause of the widespread destitution that exists, this want of thrift is insignificant as compared with the real cause, *viz.*, the extremely small share of the produce of their labours left to the actual tillers of the soil, either by Government or by superior holders under the existing Government revenue systems.

"The mainstay of Indian finance, however, is the land revenue. No material reduction in this can be contemplated. Landholders too have vested rights which cannot be confiscated, or their existing rents materially cut down. The only alternative lies in increasing the produce of the soil, and this is only possible by the expenditure everywhere of capital on the land, in minute fractions doubtless in each case, but in large masses in the aggregate. But how is this possible when year by year the bulk of the profits of the entire population are drained away in the tribute to Great Britain, exported to fructify there, and swell still further the unparalleled wealth of those distant Isles, never in any shape to return here to bless the country from whose soil it was wrung, or the people, the sweat of whose brows it represents? (*Loud cheers.*) Here is the very essence of the question; this tribute must be reduced; if we had it, we would not grudge Great Britain her profits on the connection between us, to which we owe so much. But we have it not—the masses here, to nearly double the number of the entire population of Great Britain, are starving, or nearly, so for want of that capital which we have not, and she must not thus, for ever, go on despoiling us, year by year, of that small capital which our toiling millions succeed in creating during the twelve months of ceaseless labour.

"One of the very first and most important remedies is to minimise the foreign agency, now employed in the administration and defence of the country, so that the money spent unavoidably for these purposes shall remain in it to grow and multiply and bless the land, and not as now, to a very large extent, be drafted away to England. Unless and until this question of foreign agency is solved, the question of the poverty of our masses will not be solved either. But the worst points of the case are that the Government knows these facts, and that yet, yet from year to year, that tribute is allowed to grow. As to knowing how the case stands, only in 1881, when the House of Commons was discussing the question of the incidence of the cost of the Egyptian war, Lord Ripon and Sir E. Baring and others remonstrated against saddling India with even a single pie of that expenditure on account of the poverty of India, and the utter inability of the people to bear further fiscal burthens. Again, the average annual income per head of the population was stated by the Government of India at Rs. 27 per head. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, as we know, put it lower at only Rs. 20 per head, but even taking the figures of the Financial Department, it will be seen that the Government itself is fully aware of the extreme poverty of the people. Some four shillings a month to live upon—think of that! And there are millions who spend far more than this, and therefore probably tens of millions who do not get even these miserable four shillings a month. Then, as to increase of the tribute, it is one endless growth. As to military home charges they have grown and grown by little and little until, last year, the addition of 11,000 European troops to our army made them grow further by a big jump. The civil expenditure which is diverted to England is something like 11 millions, of which 7 millions, I believe, go towards payment of pensions and the like. It has been calculated by Sir Richard Temple that the permanent loss to India in the shape of pensions, salaries, private remittances, merchants' profits and loss by exchange, amounts to something like 30 millions a year, and whatever may be the difference between the cost of tilling and the value of the produce of the soil, no country can prosper as long as such an enormous annual drain on that difference, which ought to be accumulating as the capital of the country, is going on. This is what gives such enormous importance to the question of foreign agency. But, of course, immensely important as it is, this reduction of foreign agency is not the only reform in the administration necessary if the people are to be lifted out of the slough of poverty, into which they are sinking, and placed once more upon the firm ground of comfort and prosperity. But neither this reduction of foreign agency nor, indeed, any of those other needful reforms, do we see the smallest hopes of getting carried out, until we succeed in attaining a position whence our protests and appeals must be respectfully listened to, and either fairly met, or practically yielded to, and it is in this sense that our resolution sets forth our "fixed conviction that the introduction of representative institutions will prove one of the most important practical steps towards the amelioration of the condition of the people." (*Loud and prolonged cheering.*)

If we have representative institutions, if we have elected, or partly elected, assemblies in every province, and also constituting an integral part of the Government of India—assemblies in which the representatives of the people can secure the notice of their rulers to their views on all those questions most intimately affecting the interests of their province and the country as a whole, and where such views must be respectfully listened to and thoroughly canvassed and discussed—then we do not doubt that, within a decade or so, we shall be able to ensure the adoption of those essential reforms on which a renewed lease of the prosperity of the country in a great measure depend. (*Loud cheers.*) Where representative institutions are once established there the Government, even though a Government of foreigners, *can* be drawn into the right track; but so long as a purely autocratic system prevails, and the autocrats are foreigners, the case seems hopeless. (*Cheers.*)

No doubt, even without full blown representative institutions, every step which admits natives to a larger share in the administration of the country, will tend to improve the position of affairs, and in this way, if we obtain even that tentative form of those institutions at which we are now aiming, we may fairly hope for a beginning of renewed prosperity. I will only add this more: foreigners are apt to underrate the extreme poverty of the country because there are a few rich, even though there are many poor; and it is very easy for them, coming in contact only with the well-to-do, to imagine that India is prosperous. But when they really take the trouble of going into the question they learn better. Quite recently, Mr. Samuel Smith, a member of Parliament, came out here and personally inquired somewhat into the condition of the country, and he, little as he saw, saw enough to be convinced that the country was indeed very poor, and he had the courage to bring the subject before Parliament. May we have many such men who will come and see for themselves, and having seen, dare to tell the people of England the truth, and the whole truth, about our poor pauperized India." (*Prolonged cheering.*)

THE HON. S. SUBRAMANIA IYER (*Madras, No.* 2) said: "Mr. President and Gentlemen,—It is my pleasant duty to second the proposition which has just been moved, and to my mind it seems to be very fitting that Mr. Watcha should propose, and I should second, this resolution, for we come respectively from opposite sides of India. Certainly the poverty of India, if it can be demonstrated at all, to my mind seems to be capable of demonstration in respect of the Madras Presidency. At one time it was the boast of administrators in my part of the country that it was administered under the ryotwari system and not the zemindari system. I believe the history of the ryotwari administration has led to the conclusion that it is better to have a system of zemindari administration, with all its faults, than the ryotwari system. It may be that the zemindars, as is believed by some, do, in some cases, screw out every farthing that they can from their tenants; but the zemindars, as we have seen, can be reached by a Tenancy Act, whereas in the Presidency of Madras it is impossible to control by any Tenancy Act the extortions of the revenue authorities. (*Loud cheers.*) I should like to see a Government servant, on our side of India, who is prepared to admit that the right of enhancement ought to be defined and limited by legislative enactment as against the Government. (*Cheers.*) Then, with reference to the ryotwari districts in the Madras Presidency, there is this to be said: I constantly talk to my friends and ask their opinion as to the question of poverty. Our worthy Chairman has proved it, as far as possible, to an unbiassed public, and the Government itself has admitted, that the country is poor. But, there are some, nevertheless, who affirm that the country is growing richer, and the other day I asked one of them why they thought so: he referred to the enormous exports of rice, jute, oil-seeds and an infinite variety of other raw produce. As far as Madras is concerned we do not profit by exports and the high rate of exchange; we have no cotton and no jute to export; at all events, therefore, so far as the thirty millions of people and more of the Madras Presidency are concerned, the question of poverty is exactly where our President left it, and the Government, as a fact, have admitted it. It is, therefore, fitting that I should rise to support this proposition, and assert that my part of the country is certainly entitled to be described as a poor country. Now, how is this poverty to be got rid of. I do not say directly and immediately by representative institutions, but if there is one system more than another under which we are more likely to be able to improve the administration of the country and to devise and ensure the adoption of measures to get rid of poverty, it is under a system of representation. Our worthy President has demonstrated, long ago, the poverty of the land, and has done his best to keep this matter before the public in and out of India, and we, the representatives here of all India, endorse his views, but at present with no apparent results; and what we are now aiming at is to obtain, for this voice of India, a legal status. (*Loud cheering.*) Very often it is said that we ask for things for which we are not fit, but that seems to me to be altogether begging the question. It is not any particular kind of representation for which we ask; we do not claim representative institutions in the fully developed form now enjoyed in England. All that we want is the recognition of the principle of representation. (*Cheers.*) To that extent, therefore, it seems to me that there is hardly any question, unless it be said that we are not fit to receive representation in any form whatever. This very assembly completely proves that we are (*loud cheers*), since no one would, I presume, pretend that, when the required privilege was granted to us by the State, we should deteriorate and prove less competent to discuss public affairs wisely than we now are. It cannot be said that the people are not sufficiently advanced to receive the boon of representation in some form or other; for that would be inconsistent with what has already been given to us in the existing local councils, in which there is, at any rate, a pretence of representing the Indian community by two or three Indian members. Unless it can be said that that was a mistake, it seems difficult to contend that we are not also entitled to representation in some form or other in the larger matter of administrative Government. With these observations I have much pleasure in supporting the proposition." (*Cheers.*)

Pandit Prannath (*Oudh, No.* 172) said: "I rise to support this resolution; although what was required to be said in support of it has already been well and ably stated by those gentlemen from Bombay and Madras who have preceded me, still I at least can add my testimony, from a widely distant part of the country, that our people are now extremely poor, and that they are much poorer now than they were a quarter of a century only ago. There are many other gentlemen here from Oudh, which has been called the Garden of India, and where no famine has ever been known, and yet you will not find one of them who doubts that the masses of Oudh are cruelly poor, are pressed by poverty, and feel every day and hour the burthen of that poverty. (*Loud and prolonged cheering.*) There can be no question, it seems to me, as to the poverty of India. It has been felt by all who have really worked amongst us; it has been admitted by the most intelligent of those who have governed the State; and if there is any doubt at all it is simply with respect to the causes of that poverty and not with regard to the poverty itself. If the Governments, local and supreme, included some substantial representative element—if they were thus in a position to have any real knowledge of the actual state of affairs amongst us—perhaps the country would not be so poor as it actually is. I do not mean that the mere fact of our having representatives in the councils would work any direct miracle, but that the pressure that these would then be in a position to put up on Government, would incline it to mend its ways and adopt those reforms which can alone arrest the impoverishment of the land. (*Cheers.*) Those representative institutions which have done so much for England and for every country where they have been fairly tried, cannot fail to do equal good to India also. It is only reasonable to suppose that the educated natives of India know the ins-and-outs of their own country better than foreigners, who visit it only for a short time, and that they are alike more competent than these to suggest, more anxious to discover, and more capable of applying the remedies demanded for that poverty, which has, in fact, been already admitted by the Government, which is patent to every one of us here and to every Indian capable of observation, and which, as matters now stand, bids fair, in the course of one or two generations more, utterly and hopelessly and absolutely to destroy the country." (*Prolonged cheering.*)

Row Sahib S. V. Subboroyudu Pantulu (*Madras, No.* 18) said: "I am a ryot amongst other things, and hold several acres of land in the Madras Presidency, and I tell you from my experience of many years that the people's poverty, in our part, is due, to a great extent, to high assessments. It has become a settled practice to increase the assessment at every periodical revision, and I believe that, so far as ryotwary tracts are concerned, the true remedy lies in a permanent settlement, and this is the thing we want, and this is what all our representatives, if we ever get these, will recommend and struggle for if the poverty of the ryots of Southern India is to be remedied; permanent settlements ought to be concluded throughout that portion of the country." (*Cheers.*)

Munshi Sadho Lall (*Benares, No.* 146) said, speaking in Urdu: "I strongly support this resolution. (*Cheers.*) I say that the most important practical step towards improving the circumstances of this country and preventing the increasing poverty of the masses is most assuredly the introduction of representative institutions amongst us, and I agree with those who think that the only way that these institutions can be introduced, at the present time, is by enlarging the councils and allowing these to consist largely of members selected or chosen by ourselves. (*Cheers.*) I know that this growing poverty depends upon many causes, but the most important of these have a common source, and that is, what the papers call, loss of touch between the Government and the people. I am not one of those who run down the Government. I am sure the Government does its best (*hear, hear*) ; but its best, even though better in many ways than the best of all preceding Governments, is yet not good enough for the age in which we live (*cheers*) ; and this is only because the Government, being composed of Europeans, is unable thoroughly to understand the circumstances of India, and never knows or can know what really wants doing, and above all *how* best to do what has to be done. (*Cheers.*) We, who do know, are not taken into council—not because the Government does not wish to do right—not because it desires to oppress us, but because it is not at present the practice to associate us in the administration. Of course that practice had its origin in times when we were quite children, quite incapable of seriously helping the Government. But now we are growing up. (*Loud cheers.*) There are a great many of us—tens of thousands—both those who have had an English education, and those who like myself can speak English only imperfectly—who understand and take an interest in public matters, and who can and would help in such matters, and therefore now while thanking Government for all they have done for us, and confessing all their good intentions towards us, we yet want that old unsuitable practice to be changed (*cheers*) ; and I say that until it is changed, and until we Hindustanis are joined in the management of affairs, it will be impossible to bring about those changes on which depend the improvement of the condition of the people. (*Loud cheering.*) As matters stand the wants, the grievances, the sufferings of the people, do not really become thoroughly known to, or appreciated by, the Government ; and whilst this remains the case, how can legislation be conducted appropriately to our requirements, and, if it be inappropriate, is it not worse than no legislation at all? (*Hear, hear.*) That the poverty of the masses is increasing every day cannot be disputed by any man past middle age, who has for only 20 years, even, been watching such matters (*cheers*) ; and certainly one cause of this increasing poverty is the manner in which the production of most of the manufactured necessaries of life, clothing, tools, implements, &c., &c., has been diverted from the hands of our countrymen into those of foreign manufacturers. I do think that, with a considerable body of our people in the several councils, means would be found to revive our ancient and establish new industries, so that as time went on all our requirements in this line should be supplied to us by our own artizans, and the enormous profit of this gigantic work reaped by our own people. (*Loud cheers.*) I am aware that this is a difficult matter, and it is therefore that I pick it out, and say that, granting that this is the most difficult of all the causes of our growing poverty to grapple with, even this would be able to be more or less successfully dealt with if only we were so placed as to be able to guide rightly and wisely the action of Government. As matters now stand, if the prevailing impoverishment is to be allowed to grow on, as it has been growing during the last quarter of a century, the Government revenue will, at no distant period, despite income taxes and all other possible novel and obnoxious forms of taxation, begin to decline, and nothing but National Bankruptcy will lie before us. (*Prolonged cheering.*)

"Therefore the time has now fully come, when those who really understand and feel the condition of affairs should have a powerful voice in managing them, and this is the first and only practical step that I can see towards ameliorating that sad condition." (*Loud cheers.*)

Baboo Keshub Chunder Acharjee Chowdhry (*Bengal, No.* 394*a*) said: "The Committee have already heard from delegates from different parts of the country that the people of India are poor, and that may truly be taken as an undoubted fact. You have heard, however, a great deal of the curse of poverty in Bombay, Madras, Oudh and the N. W. Provinces, but you have not heard anything about Bengal. If you enquire into our secrets you will discover that Bengal is as much a poor province as any other part of the country. To take one special case : look at the condition of the weavers whose occupation has been ruined by competition from without. I know, from my own experience, that weavers have became *Boishtobs*, a people who were originally indigenous to Bengal. Everywhere and in every place you will see that Englishmen are depriving us of our bread, and appropriating all the loaves and fishes, and if you do not make an united effort the only result will be that we shall be driven out from every occupation and every branch of industry (*cries of No! No!*) and our people left to starve." (*Cheers and laughter*).

Lala Hukm Chand (*Punjab, No.* 96) said : "We have not come here to air our eloquence but simply to express our heart-felt feelings, to make our wants known, and to set forth alike our sufferings and the remedies for these. The resolution has been ably moved and seconded, and gentlemen from Madras and Bombay, Oudh, the N. W. Provinces and Bengal, have commented upon it ; but as I am a Punjabee it is necessary for me also to support the resolution and to show that for us in the Punjab also it is necessary. The poor are not able to express their own wants, and if questions are decided by hearing only one side of the question, they cannot be rightly decided; therefore it is necessary that representative institutions should be adopted in all parts of the country. Various causes have been mentioned for the great poverty of our people. It has been said that the artisans have been driven away, and our indigenous industries ruined, but this is not so much the fault of the English as our own fault. (*Hear, hear.*) We should try to compete with England by establishing such institutions as would support our own artisans, and by purchasing things from them. The object aimed at by the resolution is, no doubt, of primary importance, but it must be supported on its true grounds, and certain things which have been said, as for instance, in regard to the weavers of Bengal, hardly bear upon the resolution. I think it is possible or us to establish institutions for the improvement of art, and to take measures to support the artisans of the country quite independently of any representation. One question connected with the poverty of India, on which representation has a distinct bearing, is the question of Exchange. That question has not been touched upon by any of the Associations, either in Bengal or the Punjab; but it is a question of no little importance. We are the subjects of the British Government, and constitute an integral part of the British Empire; why should there be two currencies? Why should there not be one and the same set of standard coins for the whole Empire, and thus the existing loss on Exchange be avoided? I know I shall be told that all existing engagements of the Government are in terms of rupees, and that the change I advocate would involve great difficulties. All changes involve difficulties—this one as far as I can see no greater difficulties than any other. Here is one step that could be taken at once if we had representatives and they urged the question properly—pending that very distant time which the proposer seemed to think of when by the reduction of foreign agency, and consequently of expenditure in England, loss by Exchange would become of less consequence. No doubt some formal representative government is required on all grounds. In every case before a Court of Justice both sides are heard, and each has the opportunity of proving to the Judge the justice of his own cause. Here it is a Court of injustice. Government has it all its own way, and we have no one to plead for us, and controvert the arbitrary claims of the Government. They surround themselves with people who just repeat their opinions, and so nothing can be done for the good of the country and its people, who suffer in every way, just because they are never heard before the Court." (*Cheers.*)

ROW BAHADUR A. SABAPATHY MUDALIAR (*Madras, No.* 23) said: "I will not occupy your time beyond what the necessities of the case require. The previous speakers have scarcely even touched upon one of the chief causes of the poverty of the country, *viz.*, the want of commercial enterprise in the community. As I, myself, am engaged in commerce, naturally I take much interest in this subject, and I shall take some other opportunity of giving a lecture on the subject; but as I shall not have the pleasure of meeting all the gentlemen who are now present on that occasion, I will just say a few words now about the matter: We all attribute the poverty of India to the mismanagement of our rulers, and, no doubt, it is to a considerable extent due to that cause, but much blame also attaches to ourselves. (*Cheers.*) We allow the English to beat us in competition in everything which we use, from a toothpick to a steamer; every branch of trade is, through our want of energy, monopolized by Europeans. (*Hear, hear.*) This Congress has devoted its attention to purely political questions, and of these the most important is undoubtedly that of representative government, and I am certainly entirely in favor of this great reform; but even when we have that representative government, the people will have to realize that the chief causes which have brought about the great poverty of India are not all political. No doubt, with representative government, we may have the means of impressing upon the Government the propriety of encouraging the trade and industry of the country in many ways, as, for instance, by purchasing in the country all articles necessary for the use of the troops, and all other public departments. But we have to do something ourselves. (*Loud cheers.*) Our late beloved Viceroy, Lord Ripon, ordered the purchase of country-made in preference to European goods; and yet, on account of the greater energy of the Europeans, many articles can be obtained more cheaply and of better quality from Europe than they can be at present produced here. Even if we had the complete control of everything in our own hands, we could not desire Indian manufactures to be purchased by the State at a higher price than is demanded for equally good English articles of the same kind: that would not be just to the interests of our nation. It is, therefore, necessary, and desirable that, in addition to all political reforms, we should devote our best attention to the improvement of the industries of the country. It is true that this has nothing directly to do with the immediate objects of this Congress, but I think it ought to be clearly understood that too much must not be expected from representative institutions, and that the improvement of our national industries and the development of our commerce and trade by our own exertions are amongst the greatest necessities of India at the present day." (*Prolonged cheering.*)

RAJAH RAMPAL SINGH (*Oudh, No.* 178) said: "I only wish to say that we should not forget the question of the usurer. If the Government would protect the people from the usurer they would help the people in despite of themselves. There are millions of ignorant people who are living truly from hand-to-mouth, and these should be protected from the oppression of the usurer."

Pandit Jwalanath Sarma (*Calcutta, No.* 251) said: "The proposition before the meeting asserts that this Congress views with grave apprehension the increasing poverty of India. The wants of the people are not large, and therefore their poverty can scarcely be owing to a deficiency in the production of the necessities of life. The proposition also asserts that we not only view the poverty of the masses of the people with grave apprehension, but we also sympathise with them, and as this poverty is increasing we view it with grave apprehension. Happily it is the case that we find deep sympathy with the sufferings of the people, and sympathy looks for the removal of the causes of this poverty, and this resolution affirms that the introduction of representative institutions is one of the measures for removing this evil. I admit that poverty is a relative term, and relative poverty we cannot ever remove from the land; but what we want to remove is the want of the necessaries of life, and that want makes the people discontented. If people succeed in anything they congratulate themselves in their success; but if the thing is done for them by other people, they have not the same satisfaction as if they do it for themselves. Representative institutions will give due scope for the exercise of our own energies, and whatever we achieve by their means will satisfy us. It is not the wish to have representative institutions merely to obtain power, but to put us in the way of doing good for ourselves and to foster habits of thinking and acting for ourselves. I humbly suggest that all of us should habituate ourselves to the habit of really thinking out questions for ourselves, for that of itself will enable us to remove many evils, not only the evil of poverty, but the causes of disease, and so on. We should look at the question all round; we should see whether it is any undue increase in the population which prevents their being supplied with food, or the scantiness of the production due to imperfect agriculture or the neglect of industrial arts that makes us poor. We must look into all causes; we must realize the fact not of a single cause but of a great many causes. We should constantly endeavour to find out all the causes. Let us compare and generalize, let us see what are the differences between one Presidency and another, one district and another, one class and another, and so on, and then only shall we be able to realize all the many causes which tend to keep India so poor. No foreigners can make this detailed investigation, and I heartily support the resolution now before the Congress, because representative institutions will give the greatest conceivable stimulus to an exhaustive and scientific treatment of this great problem—the growing poverty of the masses." (*Loud cheers.*)

Mr. Satyanath Borah (*Assam, No.* 431), who was indistinctly heard, was understood to say that the condition of Assam was generally unknown to the public of India, but there was no doubt that it was the very poorest province in all India.

The President then rose and said: "Now that delegates from all the different provinces of India have spoken, unless any one has any objection to offer to the resolution, we must try to expedite the business of the Congress. I have not the slightest wish to prevent any one from speaking, but we must consider whether there is any practical utility in going on speaking on the same subject in the same tone indefinitely. I believe that one or more gentlemen from every province have already spoken—gentlemen from Bombay, Madras, Bengal, Oudh, the North-Western Provinces, the Punjab and Assam—and I should like to know whether, in the opinion of the meeting, it is desirable to continue the discussion, because, thus far, there appears to have been no difference of opinion so far as the resolution before us goes. But I believe that, despite this apparent unanimity, some of the gentlemen from Bengal contemplated proposing some amendment and, if so, I think the time has come for this to be brought forward."

Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee (*Bengal, No.* 239) said: "On behalf of the Bengal delegates I wish to offer a few remarks.

"There was a preliminary meeting of Bengal delegates yesterday at the Ripon College, under the presidency of Baboo Sambhu Chunder Mookerjee, at which the draft resolutions were fully considered and certain alterations suggested, and on behalf of that large body of representatives I desire now to propose an amendment. The Bengal delegates propose to substitute for the last three lines of the resolution, as it now stands (after the words "fixed conviction that"), the following: 'the wider employment of natives of India, the encouragement of indigenous trade and manufactures are among the circumstances which, along with the introduction of representative institutions, would palliate the poverty of the masses.'

"They do not, in the slightest degree, depreciate the value of representative institutions; they know that representative institutions will be an unspeakable blessing, and they also allow that the passing of this resolution is a fitting introduction to the resolutions which follow. At the same time it seems to them that the poverty of the masses would not be remedied simply by the introduction of representative institutions; and that being so, it becomes necessary to refer, at least incidentally, to those other important reforms which might equally tend to remove the poverty of the masses. Therefore on behalf of the Bengal delegates I move this amendment." (*Cheers.*)

Baboo Kalicharan Banerjee (*Bengal, No.* 273) seconded the amendment.

Baboo Ambica Charan Mazumdar (*Furreedpur, No.* 316) said: "I rise to join my feeble voice with the earnest and solemn utterances which are still ringing within the walls of this great hall. The prominence given to the subject, under discussion, by this Congress, is of itself an unmistakable proof of both its importance and urgency at the present moment. Indeed the problem of the increasing poverty of the people has become a matter of so deep a concern to the intellectual portion of the various communities in the country and such a harassing trouble to the whole nation, that a practical solution of it admits of neither delay nor shuffling. In spite of all the intellectual advancements of its people with its dying energies and mouldering industries, the land of once fabulous wealth, the gorgeous Ind, is but hastening on to decay. Not a year passes without some cry of famine or distress in some quarters. You, who live amidst the grandeur and foreign opulence of the provincial capital cities, cannot adequately comprehend the abject poverty and wretchedness of the unhappy people inhabiting the rural tracts of this vast Empire. (*Loud cheers.*) Not a few of these places are desolate, and many are being covered with dense jungles, with a mixed population of wild beasts and still wilder beggars and vagabonds. Those who exultingly see nothing but submission and security in this state of things, have not the foresight to perceive the great danger that underlies this great evil. It has a deep political significance which it will require a true statesmanship to discover. The evil is portentous, and its signs and demonstrations ominous. The universal discontent of the masses has its real origin in their growing wants and increasing poverty, and if this strong down-current is not promptly tided up I know not in what disastrous consequences it may terminate. (*Loud cheers.*) As to the palliative suggested in the resolution, I am humbly of opinion that it may hereafter act as a strong invigorative; but the immediate remedy for the evil lies in some other phial. The connection between the poverty of the people on the one hand and representative institutions on the other seems to me to be somewhat remote; and I hope this Congress will not, in its eagerness to emphasise the third resolution of the Congress of 1885, mar the effect and potency of the second resolution of the Congress of 1886. I would, therefore, humbly entreat you gentlemen of the Congress to accept the amendments of the Bengal delegates, as far as the remedial portion of the resolution is concerned, and incorporate therein the two clauses regarding technical education and encouragement of native industries, which have been so clearly explained to you by one of their leaders. In other respects the proposition of Mr. Edulji Watcha has my fullest support." (*Loud cheers.*)

Row Sahib M. B. Namjoshi (*Poona, No.* 69) said: "Before rising to suggest an amendment I thought it necessary to consult the President of this Congress. From what has fallen from gentlemen, representing different provinces, I gather that the supposed remedies for the poverty of India are several, whereas only one single remedy is set forth in the resolution. Baboo Surendra Nath Banerjee has now suggested two other remedies. When consulting the President on this matter, I was told that I ought to have considered the matter earlier, and like our Bengal friends have given due notice of an amendment; but with due deference I would submit that I only got these resolutions, as it were, at the eleventh hour. The Bengal delegates had previous opportunities of considering the resolutions, but some, at any rate, of us from Bombay have had none. I would suggest that it would be better if all the resolutions were read, and if some time were now given to those of us who have not yet had sufficient time for this to consider the questions involved in all their aspects and prepare such amendments as any of us may wish to propose. Anyhow as regards this particular resolution the amendments which I have to propose are: First, that the word "increasing" in the resolution be omitted; and second, that the introduction of a permanent settlement throughout the ryotwari-settled provinces be included as one of the most important steps towards the alleviation of the poverty of the masses."

Munshi Sadho Lall (*North-Western Provinces, No.* 146) seconded this latter amendment.

Mr. Sorabji F. Patell (*Bombay, No.* 50) said: "I think the subject of the introduction of a permanent settlement is far too vast and complicated a question to introduce thus at the tail of a resolution. (*Loud cheers.*) It is one which should be discussed by itself, if discussed at all. It is a matter which has been discussed for the last fifty years, and in regard to which the greatest diversity of opinion prevails. By lumping up a number of different matters in one resolution, many of us will be prevented from voting for the resolution; therefore I would suggest that the question of the permanent settlement should be left alone, and that we confine ourselves to the 'one practical' step about which we are all agreed." (*Cheers and cries of yes, yes.*)

Baboo Guru Prasad Sen (*Behar, No.* 198) said: "As I understand the second resolution it does not profess to give an exhaustive list of all the causes which lead to the poverty of the people. It does not even enumerate a single cause of that poverty, neither does it go into all the remedies or profess to do so. It merely states that the introduction of representative institutions will prove one of the most important steps towards the amelioration of the condition of the people. Now does any one deny this? No. Baboo Surendra Nath Banerjee, on behalf of a large number of my Bengal friends, desires to add to this reform two others which he and they think will also be efficacious in the same direction. But if I have understood the real meaning of the resolution, it does not mean to say that the larger employment of natives, the encouragement of trade, or I may add the reduction of military expenditure and the revision of existing revenue systems are not one and all important reforms which will greatly tend to improve the condition of people; but it signifies that we have little chance of securing these, or any other, reforms until we can bring the lever of representative institutions to bear on the bureaucracy that now holds everything in its hands. (*Enthusiastic and prolonged cheering.*) That being so, I do not see any need for this amendment. Everybody knows that many causes contribute to the poverty of India; but that is not the substantive resolution before the meeting. For our view is that, until we get representation, it is hopeless to deal effectively with any of those causes. (*Loud cheers.*) As to Mr. Namjoshi's amendments, I personally object to omit the word increasing, but that is for the Congress to decide. His other amendment I have practically already disposed of; therefore I oppose all the amendments." (*Cheers.*)

Pandit Jwalanath Sarma (*Calcutta, No.* 251) said: "It has been suggested that this single fact of the poverty of the people has a plurality of causes, and this is undoubtedly the case, but we are still only on the threshold of our work and need not trouble ourselves at present with an exhaustive catalogue of these causes. It is better that we should first try and secure representative institutions; then we shall be in a position and have strength enough to deal with all these complicated questions. If we are only able to secure the first, it will be one real and, as I think, the most important step. Then we shall have a certain combined strength, and shall not, as now, have to speak unlistened to. (*Hear, hear!*) It is better to deal with one point at a time." (*Yes, yes.*)

Mr. Hume (*Punjab, No.* 112) said: "We find here gentlemen who come from Bombay and Madras, who have never had any practical experience of a permanent settlement, strongly insisting on it as a remedy for the poverty of the masses. But we, here, have had it in full play for nearly one hundred years, and I am sure there is no province in India where the masses are poorer than in Bengal."

Mr. Sitalakanta Chatterjee (*Meerut, No.* 155) said: "I will speak only one word upon what has been said. The resolution for consideration at this moment deals with the question of the poverty of the people. The delegates from Meerut do not understand that the Congress is dealing with all the causes of, or remedies for, this poverty. The resolution before the meeting only suggests one of the great remedies for that poverty. There are a hundred other measures of course which will tend to remove it; but we are dealing at present simply with the question of representative government, not with the question of the permanent settlement, or anything else. A permanent settlement may be a good thing, but what we are now insisting upon is that representative government ought to be conceded to us, and we say that, if representative government be conceded, it will be a most important step towards improving the condition of the people. We don't say that that is the only thing required, but we do know that, if we get that, it will not be long before we get those other reforms that are needful. (*Loud cheers.*) I think we ought not to mix up other questions with this one in our resolution; they will only tend to weaken its force and the cause which we are supporting."

Mr. R. M. Sayani (*Bombay, No.* 54) said: "I rise to a point of order, and with due deference to my friends and the judgment of the President, I desire to point out that most of these amendments are not amendments at all. The resolution points out one of the most important remedies for removing the poverty of the people. If you say there are other remedies that is not an amendment. We don't dispute that there *are* other remedies, but your statement of this fact is no amendment to our proposition that this particular measure is *one* important remedy. I ask you, Sir, as President, to rule that these are not amendments."

Rao Sahib S. A. Saminada Iyer (*Tanjore, No.* 41) said: "The resolution contains these words: 'The Government is not overlooking the matter, and is contemplating certain palliatives.' These words include the Public Service Commission which is insisted on, in order to enable the Government to introduce more of the native element into the services, and the question of technical education also is under the consideration of Government; therefore, I think, this resolution is wide enough to embrace all forms of remedies for the removal of the poverty of the people."

Baboo Mati Lal Ghose (*Bengal, No.* 335) said: "I must give an unqualified denial to the statement made by my friend, Mr. Hume, that the peasantry of lower Bengal, at any rate, is in as impoverished condition as in any other province of the Empire."

The President said: "I think the discussion shows that, in mixing up other matters with this resolution, we are really doing injustice to the particular subject which is mentioned in this resolution. The question of a permanent settlement, for instance, is so important a matter that it requires separate consideration. I would ask the Congress to consider whether it is not proper to go on with this resolution as indicating one of the most important remedies for the poverty of the people, and if other remedies be considered sufficiently important to require prominent notice at this time, to consider whether other distinct resolutions should not be proposed in regard to these. If, in dealing with one resolution, we endeavour to embrace in it all the various questions, which have been raised by the different speakers who have discussed it, we shall be involved in complete chaos, and there will be absolutely no end to the matter. With regard to my friend Mr. Sayani's suggestion I have consulted some of the gentlemen around who are competent to advise me, and they doubt whether the additions proposed to be made by Mr. Banerjee can be included in the category of amendments. They are questions which ought to be discussed by themselves and are really not amendments; and I am also advised that the second of the so-called amendments made by Mr. Namjoshi should not be admitted as an amendment. I am willing to take the opinion of the meeting upon the question of order; or if I am allowed to rule (*cries of yes, you are,*) then I say that we are not competent to regard these as amendments."

Baboo Surendra Nath Banerjee (*Bengal, No.* 239) asked whether his amendment was in order.

The President said he would not admit it as an amendment.

Baboo Surendra Nath Banerjee said that if it was not considered to be an amendment, he would ask it to be taken as a substantive proposition substituted for a part of the resolution. (*Cheers.*)

Mr. Mano Mohan Ghose (*Bengal, No.* 270) said: "It seems to me that the object of the resolution is not to enumerate either the different causes of the poverty of India or the several necessary remedies for this, but the object is simply to point out that the introduction of representative institutions will be one of the most important remedies. (*Loud cheers.*) That being so, if the amendments or amplifications, or whatever they are called, were relevant to the main purport of the resolution, I should have voted for them; but they are not relevant, and I would therefore ask Baboo Surendra Nath Banerjee to consider whether he ought to press the point."

Baboo Kalicharan Banerjee (*Bengal, No.* 273) said: "Some of us may be of opinion that if only one of the remedies for ameliorating the condition of the people be mentioned, this one stated in the resolution is not the one remedy which should be specified. When, therefore, the Bengal delegates suggested the idea of certain remedies, it was out of deference to the resolution as it stood. We did not want to take it upon ourselves to expunge the remedy therein specified, *viz.*, representative institutions, but we suggested, as additions, certain other remedies that to us appeared the true ones. But if the ruling be that these particular remedies cannot be considered by way of amendment, and if the resolution must contain only one of the remedies, then it may be that we would prefer these other remedies to the remedy now embodied in the resolution."

The President then put the question whether Mr. Namjoshi's proposal as to the permanent settlement should be considered as an amendment, and by counting of hands it was ascertained that an immense majority were against it.

The President also put the question whether Baboo Surendra Nath Banerjee's proposition should be considered as an amendment, and ascertained that a very large majority were against it also.

Mr. Namjoshi (*Poona, No.* 69) then formally moved that the word "increasing" be omitted from the resolution.

Mr. Sorabjee F. Patell (*Bombay, No.* 50) seconded the amendment, which was, however, negatived by an overwhelming majority.

The original motion was then put to the vote and carried by a very large majority.

The President then called on Rai Kunja Lall to move the next resolution.

Rai Kunja Lall Bannerjee, Bahadur (*Calcutta, No.* 234), said : "I have never in my life been a speaker, and as brevity is the soul of wit I shall be as brief as possible. The resolution which has been entrusted to me to move for your acceptance runs thus :—

"That this Congress do, emphatically, reaffirm the third resolution of the Congress of 1885, and distinctly declare its belief that the reform and expansion of the Council of the Governor-General for making Laws and of the Provincial Legislative Councils, therein suggested, have now become essential alike in the interests of India and England." (*Resolution III of the Summary, page* 41.)

"As some of those present may have forgotten exactly how the third resolution, which the Congress passed last year, runs, I shall read it :

"That this Congress considers the reform and expansion of the Supreme and existing Local Legislative Councils, by the admission of a considerable proportion of elected members (and the creation of similar Councils for the N. W. Provinces and Oudh, and also for the Punjab), essential ; and holds that all Budgets should be referred to these Councils for consideration, their members being moreover empowered to interpellate the Executive in regard to all branches of the administration ; and that a Standing Committee of the House of Commons should be constituted to receive and consider any formal protests that may be recorded by majorities of such Councils against the exercise by the Executive of the power, which would be vested in it, of overruling the decision of such majorities."

"The object of the resolution before you now is to affirm the resolution passed last year : that is the object with which the promoters of this meeting have put this on record, and the question is whether it will meet with your approval. I therefore move this resolution."

Row Sahib P. Rungiah Naidu (*Madras, No.* 1), said : "It is with great pleasure that I second this resolution that we should re-assert, here, what we set forth last year at Bombay. (*Cheers.*) At Bombay the facts and arguments in favour of that proposition were ably and eloquently placed before the delegates there assembled, and after the fullest discussion the Congress, unanimously and enthusiastically, adopted that resolution. But we have got both friends and enemies in our country, and our enemies averred that the resolutions passed at Bombay were the resolutions of a few intelligent English-educated native gentlemen and were not the opinions of the native public, and were, therefore, not worthy of consideration by the Government or by anybody else. But now, having ascertained the views of the entire native community in every part of India, we can re-assert the proposition with additional force, and can challenge our opponents to deny that the whole population of India agrees with us in this resolution (*loud cheers*) ; and we must re-assert it now, and it may be many times more before we achieve our end. Even in a country like Great Britain, which is said to be the home of liberty and where the voice of the people is talked of as the voice of the Deity, no important reform is ever carried out in a single day or secured without a persistent struggle. When Wilberforce moved for the abolition of slavery, he did not succeed in a day, but he succeeded only after many years of constant agitation. (*Cheers.*) And Cobden, the apostle of free trade, when he and the strong party of radicals, who worked with him, made up their minds that the Corn Laws ought to be repealed, even in his own free country and with a Parliament of his own race to appeal to, he was not at once successful ; he, and those who worked with him, had to hold thousands of meetings and distribute millions of pamphlets and leaflets and canvass unceasingly for support, for years, throughout the country. And even coming to the present day we have a number of instances of this sort. There is, for instance, the question of the legalization of marriage with a deceased wife's sister. When it was first brought before Parliament there was a large majority against it, but although the proposition was lost for the time, its advocates did not give it up, but brought it forward again and again, the majority decreasing year by year, until it was carried in the House of Commons and only defeated in the Lords ; and in course of time, I think, it will pass the Lords, even, and the movement will be successful. Therefore, I think, we should now re-assert the views we asserted at the Congress at Bombay, and be prepared to re-assert and re-assert, and insist and enlarge on it, until our rulers accept it and act on it. (*Loud cheers.*)

"It is our duty, by dint of perseverance, to overcome all opposition, to struggle and labour unceasingly till we win the day, although not we, but our children, should be those who reap the fruits of that victory." (*Prolonged cheering.*)

Mr. Ghanasham Nilkanth (*Bombay, No.* 53) : I support the proposition. As previous speakers have explained, it was most fully discussed at Bombay, and has subsequently been placed before, and adopted by, all the Associations throughout the country, while literally hundreds of public meetings in every portion of the Empire have declared it to represent correctly the views of the entire nation (*loud cheers*) ; and there can consequently be no hesitation, this day, in emphatically re-affirming that now famous Resolution III of 1885.

ROW SAHIB S. NARAYANA SWAMI CHETTY (*Nellore, No.* 19) said : "The voice of India has already declared that this resolution must be re-affirmed and re-affirmed until its substance becomes the law of the land. There is no backward step here now possible for any of us. (*Loud cheers.*) All the Associations, I may say the entire population, from one end of India to the other, have been consulted on the subject, and all our countrymen, high and low, have declared that these are their wishes, this the goal at which they aim. (*Cheers.*) This resolution has been accepted throughout India, and not one single Indian voice in the entire Empire has been raised against it. I think, therefore, that there need not be any long discussion upon the subject. It is simply formally re-affirming in words a resolution that the entire country has already engraved upon its heart. (*Loud cheers.*)

PUNDIT THAKUR PROSAD (*Agra, No.* 137) spoke in Urdu, and said : "Certainly there can be no hesitation in affirming the resolution last year passed at Bombay. Since then there is not a corner in the country where folks have not talked over that resolution and said it was good. Every man who knows anything, whether he be an English speaker, or, like myself, knows only Indian languages, knows at least this : that if the country is to prosper, we, its children, who understand its ways and wants, must be allowed a share, and a good share, in the management of its public affairs. (*Cheers.*) And it is only by some system of representation that we can hope to secure, and that only gradually, this power in the State. But we must do more than re-affirm this resolution. We must bring the whole power of the country to support and join with us in insisting on the concession of our demand. In my part of the country barely half the inhabitants yet understand this matter. Every man of any education, of any marked intelligence, is agreed upon this matter, but then half the people have neither education nor intelligence. We must teach them, we must prepare and publish and distribute, in vast numbers, small simple tracts in village language, that even the lowest and most ignorant can understand, explaining what it is that we are trying to get, and why we are so trying, and how this matter will, in the long run, affect their interests as much as ours, and why, therefore, they ought to join with us and help us. It will not be until we put the entire weight of the country into the scale that we shall outweigh the opposition which confronts all attempts at elevating our political position. Let us not merely join, as I do, most heartily in re-affirming this resolution, but let us each, in his own fashion, work with all our power at getting it carried into effect, and then perhaps in time something will come of it." (*Loud cheers.*)

RAJAH RAMPAL SINGH (*Oudh, No.* 178) said : "As I come from a Province which has already affirmed this proposition at numerous public meetings, and as I am the Chairman of a Board in which the elective system has been adopted and has proved a great success, far greater than even I could have expected, I most heartily support this resolution." (*Cheers.*)

LALA KANHYA LAL (*Punjab, No.* 104) said : "I come from the Punjab ; there from sheer necessity we affirm this resolution inasmuch as, since the time of Lord Lawrence, who invited Rajah Sahib Dyal, to sit in the Legislative Council, we have never had the favour of even one member being appointed from our own country. The members who have been since appointed have been the Chief Commissioner, and the Financial Commissioner of the Province—not one member chosen out of the people, much less elected by themselves. We, therefore, thank our colleagues and brethren of other Provinces for pressing this resolution, which is even more vitally important to us than to any other Province. Elsewhere (now even in the N. W. Provinces) there is a show of representation, since there are councils, and Indian gentlemen, no matter how little qualified effectively to represent their Provinces, still Indian gentlemen, sitting on those Councils ; but, as for us, we have no council, no pretence even of representation."

BABOO KAKUMUL (*Fyzabad, No.* 180) said : "The system of election of Municipal Commissioners is working very well in Fyzabad. Only one-fourth of the Commissioners are nominated by the Government, of the Municipality of which I am the Chairman, and if those gentlemen who are nominated had not been nominated, they would certainly have been elected ; and we have an Honorary Secretary, selected by ourselves, who does the work very well and controls the expenditure of two lakhs of rupees annually. It is a petty matter you will say, but the perfect manner in which the system now actually works, on a small scale, should encourage the Government to try it on that larger scale, which the entire country desires, and the resolution we are about to affirm contemplates. It may be true that, where the system has not been introduced, nearly half the population know nothing of the representative system ; but in Fyzabad, where it is in force, everybody understands it and everybody approves it." (*Loud cheers.*)

THE PRESIDENT rose and said : "I would particularly ask speakers to stick to the resolution under discussion; if we are to wander off into analogies and illustrations, the discussion will be indefinitely prolonged. I am much inclined to say that, if any gentleman has anything to say against the resolution, he should say it; but that otherwise it is scarcely necessary to speak further in its favour."

Malik Bhugwan Dass (*Dehra Ismail Khan, No.* 110) spoke in Urdu (with an eloquence to which the translation scarcely does justice), and said: "Though our President does not want us to go on speaking always to the same tune, and though, being what I am, I shall not be able to give any better or stronger reasons for re-affirming the resolution than have been given by the abler and more eloquent speakers who have addressed you; still having come sixteen hundred miles to tell you what we think in our part of the country, I should be unworthy of the trust reposed in me did I not say, at least, a few words on this most important subject. Gentlemen, let me say before I proceed further, that I come from the western frontier of the British dominion, from a land where men handle the sword more readily than the pen, where none of us are scholars, none of us orators, and therefore whose representatives need every indulgence in coming before an assembly like this. Well, I have managed to pick up a little education, and though I do not venture to speak in English, I can read and understand it, and I do read it, and the papers a good deal; and by reading the *Civil and Military Gazette* and the *Pioneer* I have learned that the persons who desire a change in the present form of the administration and want representative institutions and a larger share in the Government of the country, are only the Bengali Baboos, and that the public in India generally do not care for, and do not understand, such things. Now, gentlemen, I should be very proud of being a Bengali Baboo (the most highly educated class in India), but do *I* look like a Bengali Baboo? (*The speaker was a stalwart frontier man, wearing the frontier dress.*) (*Loud cheers and cries of no, no!*) Let me tell the editors of those Anglo-Indian papers that it is *not* only the Bengali Baboos who desire these things, but the more intelligent persons of every class and caste of people in every part of the country in which I have been. Even in our Dera Ismail Khan there are plenty who know all about these matters, and in other districts of the Punjab a still greater number. Backward we may be, but it is absurd to suppose that we Punjabis, even we frontier people, are altogether ignorant of such matters or fail to sympathize in the work which this Congress is endeavouring to get done. What, gentlemen, would they make out that God, the Almighty Father, has not endowed us with human reason, but has left us incapable of knowing what is good for us and what is bad, of feeling how unjust to us are many things in existing arrangements, of realizing that the first thing necessary, if that injustice is to be done away with, is that we should have a strong voice in the management of our country's, of our own, affairs? During the last few years the Punjab has been making progress in education. There may not be the huge number of educated men that you have here, but there are yet a good number, and these have learnt how things stand and have explained them in their own way to all their brethren. There are tens of thousands of, what you may call, ignorant men, who yet know very well what the great defect in the Government's administration of affairs is. You must not overlook the fact that our people in the Punjab have a natural intelligence that, quite independent of education, makes them capable and, therefore, desirous of administering public affairs. In my own little town of Dera Ismail Khan, I can give many instances of this. Take Nawab Mohamed Faujdar, whom you must have heard of as British representative at Cabul, an almost illiterate man, of a not very high position, who simply by force of character and natural intelligence so distinguished himself in political administration as to be made a Nawab, C.S.I., &c. Or Nawab Gholam Hossein Khan, a K.C.S.I., I believe, who similarly won distinction as a diplomatist; or again Nawab Ata Mahomed Khan, who was the British representative at Cabul for many years, who induced the Amir Shere Ali to attend the Amballa Durbar (a wonderful achievement to those who understand how affairs really stood then in Cabul), but who was utterly opposed to the late war in Cabul and prophesied accurately its results—twenty crores spent and spent for nothing. There is not a district, not a town, that does not contain many such or better men; and do you suppose that any of them are greatly pleased with a form of administration which denies, to ninety-nine out of every hundred of them, any career; or that any of them fail to see that representative institutions, and a much larger employment of Indians in the higher offices of State, would be important steps towards the opening they want? (*Loud cheers.*) I will not detain you longer, I will only repeat that this Congress and the objects it aims at have the sympathy of every thinking man in India, be he educated or uneducated; and though the newspapers may misunderstand the subject, I think the Government knows better, and as, despite mistakes that it makes, the Government is a generous Government, I hope, and *think* too, that coming to realize how universal is the feeling, it will yield to our desire, and concede, if not at once, yet piece by piece, all we ask for. If I speak plainly it is not that I am opposed to British rule—far from it; that rule has no more earnest supporter than myself. But good as it is, there are many things yet that should be improved, and amongst them the matters dealt with by this Congress, and while I say may God prosper British rule in India for ever, I also say may He give our rulers wisdom to understand the reasonableness of our demands for reform and the magnanimity to concede what we ask for." (*Loud and prolonged cheers.*)

The President said: "I really think we must now put this resolution to the vote. The subject is one of such vast and far-reaching importance, that a hundred more speeches might be made on the subject without exhausting it. But to what end? If, as it seems, we are all entirely of one mind on this matter, further discussion is surely not wanted, and we have so much other work to do." (*Cries of vote, vote.*)

The resolution was then formally put and carried unanimously with loud cheers.

The President then said: "The matter of appointing a Committee to consider the Public Service Question is an important one, and should, I venture to think, be given priority over other subjects, because the Committee, if one be appointed, will have to complete its work within the next two days. Last year we passed a resolution calling for a Public Service Commission: that Commission is now sitting. The question for consideration is whether we should now enter into any discussion of the subject, or whether we should not rather let the Commission finish their work, and then see what the public have to say to it. That is one view of the question. But it is said, on the other hand, that it is important that this Congress should say what they think in regard to the matters before the Commission, and make any suggestions which they think fit. A third proposition is that a Committee be appointed to consider this question and submit their report to the Congress, and a further proposition is that this Committee be authorized to exercise their own judgment in preparing and publishing such a series of expositions of the principles involved in the various questions published by the Commission as should enable witnesses to give consistent and appropriate answers on all points.

"This subject must be dealt with in one way or another. To open the discussion it would be well if some one, who is of this opinion, would definitely propose that we should abstain from dealing with the matter at the present Congress, and allow the Commission to finish its work before attempting to touch the question."

Rajah Rampal Singh (*Oudh, No.* 178) said: "As the whole question is under the consideration of the Government, I think the Congress should not pass any resolution in regard to it, or interfere in the matter at all. When a case is under trial in a Court of Justice the press does not offer any opinion. This question is now, as it were, *sub-judice* before the Commission, and we should certainly not, in any way, directly or indirectly, suggest to the witnesses, that are going to be examined, what we happen to consider the proper replies to give to the several questions put by the Commission. I therefore move that all consideration of the Public Service Question, so far as this Congress is concerned, be deferred until the completion of the Public Service Commission's labours."

Baboo Kakumul (*Fyzabad, No.* 180) said: "I second the motion. This is not, it seems to me, the time to affirm any principles: the question should be postponed until there is sufficient information upon which to frame a resolution. At present, we don't know what the Commission will do; we should wait and see what they decide and what reasons they are able to assign for their decisions."

Baboo Saligram Singh (*Calcutta, No.* 235) said: "I am also of opinion that this question should not be considered at present. It should be omitted from the list of business before the Congress."

Lala Kanhya Lal (*Punjab, No.* 104) said: "I am against this motion, as I think a Committee should be appointed to consider the question and submit its report before the Congress is dissolved. As far as I have seen of the proceedings of the Commission, I observe that, whenever a witness gave evidence which was unacceptable to the Commission, another witness from a different class of society (some old-fashioned sycophant) was immediately procured to rebut that evidence. There was a considerable diversity of evidence, and in some cases evidence was given against the interests of India, and the result was unintelligible. I submit that this Congress should distinctly record its views with reference to the more important questions which are before the Commission and which are really very few in number."

Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee (*Bengal, No.* 239) said: "It seems to me that we ought to be guided, to a considerable extent, by the experienced observations of my friend who comes from the Punjab, and has had the opportunity of personally coming into contact with the evidence which has been given; he speaks, therefore, with weight and authority. That is one point. Those who have been reading this evidence, from day to day, might have been impressed with one striking fact, namely, the perfect chaos, confusion and anarchy which prevails. A says something, B supports it, C strikes out another proposition, D is brought forward to rebut it, and the whole becomes a perfect chaos. Mark the importance of the matter. Lord Dufferin, in reply to the Poona address, said that it was not so much on the Government as on the witnesses that the result depends.

Therefore the question is whether the evidence, which is to be tendered, is to be, or not to be, in accordance with our highest and most cherished wishes, and whether we ought not, if possible, to formulate the principles which should guide the evidence of the witnesses. In my humble opinion we ought to try to evolve something like order out of the chaos. I don't wish that this Congress should answer the 184 questions which have been propounded by the Commission, or their secretary. That is quite impossible. But there are certain principles which underlie most of these questions, and it is for this Congress to consider these principles and to formulate the decisions they arrive at in relation to those principles, so that the final verdict may be in some sort guided by the verdict which this Congress may pronounce. It is a life and death struggle. You have considered these questions for the last forty years, and if you make this self-sacrifice and leave the matter alone now, it is too much to suppose that advantage will not be taken of your silence. That being so, I do think that we ought to appoint a Committee to-day. We do not bind ourselves by the judgment of that Committee; we do not seek to tie you down to the names, provisionally suggested, in the draft resolution.* Let the men, whom you may appoint on the Committee, be men in whom you have confidence, and who have the confidence of the inhabitants of every town and station in the country. You do not pledge yourselves to the report that they may make. But still as these gentlemen will have your confidence they will have the confidence of your constituents, and the views they enunciate will everywhere be studied and carefully considered, and will certainly aid many hazy-minded persons to arrive, not necessarily at these same, but at any rate at some definite conclusions. It is a matter of the highest importance that we should so distinctly place the principles, on which we desire action, before the Commission, and so aid our witnesses to furnish definite and consistent replies, that the Commission may be able to come to some definite conclusions."

PANDIT SATYANAND AGNIHOTRI (*Lahore, No.* 98) said: "I agree word for word with what has been said by Baboo Surendra Nath Banerjee. There are certain witnesses being examined by the Commission, and their depositions are not such as to be quite satisfactory to the public and to the whole of India, and it is, therefore, necessary for this Congress to appoint a Committee for the purpose which has just been stated. If we neglect this opportunity we shall lose a most important chance and one which we shall all, for ever, regret losing."

ROW SAHIB M. B. NAMJOSHI (*Poona, No.* 69) said: "After the eloquent speech of Baboo Surendra Nath Banerjee it will be superfluous to urge the same points as he has done, though I must say that if after all we have been so persistently urging in the papers we now, when we have the chance, fail to submit some practical suggestions, we shall scarcely be doing our duty—nay we shall, it seems to me, expose ourselves to well-merited ridicule. But there are two special points scarcely touched upon as yet on which I desire to say a few words. The idea of appointing a Committee originated, I believe, with myself, and two of the reasons which influenced me in advocating this course differ from those which have been mainly relied upon by Baboo Surendranath. The first of these is, that this seems to me the best opportunity of authoritatively controverting the assertion made in influential quarters as to the action taken by the leaders of Native Society in this matter. They have been stigmatised as being wire-pullers, and it has been gravely maintained that a dozen or so of educated men alone care about this Service Question. It is partly as a means of emphatically contradicting this absurd assertion that I suggest this formal consideration of the question by the Congress. If the Congress ignored the question, no matter on what grounds they might really do this, there would be an opening to pretend that the Congress does not really care about it. But if the Congress take it up and show how deeply interested it is in the matter,—we are here some four hundred and fifty in number and we cannot all be wire-pullers,—and the first step towards proving that anxiety, since we cannot discuss in detail all the 184 questions propounded, is to appoint a Committee, composed of all the men whom all of us rely on, to look into and reply, so far as time may permit, to the more important of these questions.

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* The draft resolution, which was at the time in every delegate's hands, and which, though it had not been formally proposed, was what was under consideration, is subjoined. It differs materially from the resolution ultimately passed.

Draft Resolution.

VI. That this Congress congratulate the Government and the people of the country upon the appointment of a Public Service Commission, and taking the deepest interest in the labours of that body, deems it expedient (although, the question being *sub-judice*, it refrains from re-affirming its last year's fourth resolution) to appoint a Committee* to prepare and submit to the Commission an expression of the opinions of the Congress on all those points, connected with the Civil Service Question, on which a general unanimity exists amongst the delegates.

* The Hon'ble M. G. Ranade (*Bombay*).
" Dadabhai Naoroji (*Bombay*).
" S. Subramania Iyer (*Madras*).
" Peary Mohun Mukerjee (*Bengal*).
Mr. G. Subramania Iyer (*Madras*).
" Motilal Ghose (*Bengal*).
" Surendranath Banerji (*Bengal*).
" Pran Nath (*Lucknow*).
" Gangapershad Varma (*Lucknow*).
" Murlidhur (*Amballa*).
" Ramkali Chowdhry (*Benares*).
" Guruprasad Sen (*Patna*).
Rajah Lutchman Singh (*N. W. Provinces*).

"The Sub-Committee, who have been charged with drafting the resolutions, have entered the names as proposed members of the suggested Committee, of persons in whom the Congress, I believe, has full confidence. They are persons who, many of them, have devoted their lives to India's cause, who have studied the question thoroughly; but there may be others as well qualified. It is for the Congress to decide upon the names. I am only insisting on the appointment of a Committee."

Rajah Rampal Singh (*Oudh, No.* 178) said: "I rise to a point of order. I made a substantive motion that all consideration of the Public Service Question, so far as this Congress is concerned, be deferred until the completion of the Public Service Commission's labours. I am not aware that any substantive amendment has been proposed, but it seems to me we are beginning to consider the Public Service Question. I think a vote should be taken on my motion, or a distinct amendment moved."

The President said: "I do not think that at present we need interrupt the discussion; considering the terms in which I introduced the subject to the notice of the Congress, and that thus far Mr. Namjoshi is merely arguing, in opposition to Rajah Rampal's motion that no notice be taken, that, on the contrary, notice ought to be and must be taken, I think we should allow Mr. Namjoshi to continue."

Mr. Namjoshi (*resumed*): "The second point that I desire to urge is this. Those who propose to drop the question have not given their reasons for so doing. But the only reason, I anticipate, is that they are afraid that the Congress may not come to an unanimous finding on all points: that there may be points in regard to which differences of opinion will arise. If this be so, then this is one of the very reasons for appointing a Committee. I admit that there may be differences of opinion (though I believe on one single point only). I welcome the fact. The members of this Congress have severally studied the question in their own way, and in reference to their own provinces; they may well have something to say, irrespective of what others say, with regard to their own provinces. They may be perfectly justified in their views, so far as their own province is concerned, but they possibly fail to realize what other provinces are doing in the matter, and what they wish should be done for the future. And, therefore, some organized attempt should be made to formulate the principles upon which the matured views of all should be based, and there is no surer method of doing this than that now proposed of setting a limited number of the best men of every province to work out, so far as may be possible, unanimous solutions of the problems set before us. Moreover, by this resolution, we declare to the world, and to the official world in particular, the persons whom we select, as it were, as our witnesses in whom we have the fullest confidence, and whose evidence will represent the views of the entire Congress. Therefore, for the reasons given by Baboo Surendra Nath Banerjee, and for the additional reasons that I have given, I think it inexpedient to defer consideration of the question, and think it necessary that a Committee should be appointed; and I shall be glad if the question is placed in their hands."

Munshi Kashi Prosad (*Allahabad, No.* 113) said: "After so much has been written and said on this subject for some years past the opportunity should not be lost of considering what replies should be placed before the Commission. I believe that one reason why some gentlemen shrink from the proposal to appoint a Committee is the necessity which they think this will impose on them of considering the enormous number of questions put forward by the Commission and the voluminous literature on the subject. But this could not be a reason for shirking our duty, and, as has been explained by Baboo Surendra Nath Banerjee, the Committee need not go into all these intricate questions, but only formulate and give expression to the general views of the Congress. I can assure you that it has not been in the majority of cases any fault of the witnesses who have been examined that has led to the conviction that some authoritative exposition, of the principles on which all replies should be based, is needed.

"If simple questions had been asked, plain answers would have been given to them, but when the questions are so complex as not to be within the comprehension of many of the witnesses, naturally they cannot elicit clear answers; and I think it very necessary that a Committee of chosen men, selected by the whole Congress, should help to clear the matter up, for all future witnesses, by enunciating the simple principles, in which we are really all agreed, which underlie the ridiculous mass of answers expected from every witness."

Dr. Rajendralala Mitra (*Calcutta, No.* 229) said: "I wish I could induce the supporters of this draft resolution, the adoption of which I understand Baboo Surendranath and others to advocate, to drop it. I wish it had not been brought before the meeting. I am afraid it is very indiscreet, under any circumstances, to delegate your power of consideration and judgment to a dozen men, most of whom are utterly unknown (*cries of no, no*) to the gentlemen here present. Have you such a knowledge of their business qualifications and their capacities that you are sure they will do as you would do yourself? Even if you were convinced of this it would not be proper to delegate your authority to them. Some 450 gentlemen here present are ready, it would seem, to act as a flock of sheep and to be guided by twelve unknown men. (*Cries of well-known, well-known.*) Could anything be more injurious to the interests of this Congress than the delegation of their entire power to such a small minority. If you had laid down the principles upon which they should make their representations, and limited their discretion, it would be a different thing. But here no principle is laid down, no directions are laid down, and these twelve men are told to do something for the Congress, and the draft resolution concludes by saying that a general unanimity exists *amongst the delegates. What that unanimity is I presume I can guess.* There may be, for aught I know, very strong differences of opinion with regard to the Public Service Question, and can they say let these twelve men do what they think proper and so rid us of the trouble? Have you travelled here hundreds of miles to say, let A, B and C do everything for us? This is a scandal upon our common sense. If that was all you had to do you might have written from your homes to say that you would subscribe to whatever was done. That is exactly what you are going to do, and it is most inconsistent and irrational to do so. I object to any man playing the part of *akulbardar* for me, and this Congress should be ashamed of itself if it cannot do for itself what it ought to do."

Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee (*Calcutta, No.* 239) said: "I think there is some misunderstanding: I have not formally moved the draft resolution that stands on the printed list of business for to-day, though I took it as a text from which to set forth my dissent to Rajah Rampal's motion that this Congress should take no notice of the Service Question, and press my own view that it should take effective notice, and for that purpose appoint a Committee of picked representative men to deal with it, it being impossible, with the very short time available, for the Congress, as a body, to do this. But I quite admit that there may be objections to the course proposed in the draft, and as I omitted to move a formal amendment to Rajah Rampal's motion I now move—

"That a Committee composed of gentlemen, to be hereafter named, be appointed to consider the Public Service Question and report thereon to this Congress." (*Resolution VI of the Summary, page* 43.)

Row Sahib M. B. Namjoshi (*Poona, No.* 69) said: "I second the amendment."

Pandit Satyanand Agnihotri (*Lahore, No.* 98) said: "I support the amendment moved by Baboo Surendra Nath Banerjee and seconded by Mr. Namjoshi. You must be well aware that this question has been discussed for a long time, and it has been considered in every place in which a branch of the Indian Association or any other political Association has been formed, and has been a burning question in every province. Such a large assembly like this cannot deal with this question in the first instance, and I see no reason why a well-selected representative Committee should not be appointed to formulate principles. If we cannot give our confidence to the members of a Committee selected from amongst ourselves, then I say that there can be no representative government at all. For what is representation if we cannot have a number of *akulburdars* in whom we have confidence. Any one who pleases may make a joke of *akulburdars*, but what are the members of the English House of Commons but the *akulburdars* of the people of England? (*Loud cheers.*) Since the Commission is taking evidence all over India, why should not such a Congress as this give its own evidence to the Commission. We are not prepared to consider all the questions so liberally propounded by the Commission, but we can lay down some broad lines and principles upon which all the replies of witnesses can be based. Such questions, for instance, as the simultaneous examination of candidates in England and in India can be discussed as well by a committee of experts, on whom we all rely, as here in Congress. The Committee, if there be any doubts in any case, can easily ascertain our views and might, it seems to me, for any possible harm it could do, submit its report direct to the Commission."

Mr. Daji Abaji Khare (*Bombay, No.* 56) said: "I wish to say a few words on the question which seems to have given rise to so much difference of opinion. Certain important points seem to me to run a chance of being overlooked, or I should not thus trespass on your time. We know that the Civil Service Question has been agitated for the last half century; several of our ablest men have devoted their lives to its consideration, and its importance cannot be made more manifest to you than by recalling your attention to the reply made by the Viceroy to the deputation at Poona, in which he said that the settlement of this question would be a settlement for a considerable time. When, therefore, the Government once takes action on the report of the Commission, we need not hope to effect any change in the course it may adopt for some time to come; surely therefore now is our time. It is no use waiting until the Commission has completed its labours—that will be too late. It is now that we must take whatever steps we can to secure our long-cherished object. The Government has appointed a Commission, and has asked us to prove our case; we must show that we are prepared to take a larger share in the government of the country, and show how we propose that this be brought about. In selecting the witnesses to be examined by the Commission the choice is given, to a great extent, to the local authorities; and if we remain silent, for aught we know, the majority of the gentlemen, whom this representative Congress know to be best qualified to reply on our behalf, and whom it is proposed to name as a Committee, may be left out in the cold, and the local authorities will, in place of these, call upon certain other people whose views they know to be in accord with their own, and thus with a packed witness box our cause will go by default. It is, therefore, our duty to appoint certain gentlemen from amongst ourselves, whom we look upon as our leading experts in these matters, to formulate certain principles; to educate the people as to the real bearings of the questions; and generally represent the Congress before the Commission. It seems to me to be clearly our business to help the less educated and less well-informed witnesses to arrive at sound conclusions in regard to every question that may arise. I propose that Dr. Rajendralala Mitra and Mr. Sayani be added to the Committee."

The President then rose and said: "Rajah Rampal Singh's motion is that the Public Service Question shall not be taken into consideration by this present Congress. To this an amendment is proposed that a Committee should be at once appointed to consider this question, with instructions to report thereon to this Congress before it dissolves. If no other gentlemen has anything further to say for or against these counter-propositions they might now, I think, be put to the vote."

Dr. Gurudas Banerjee (*Calcutta, No.* 271) said: "I suggest that the Committee be authorized to submit its report direct to the Commission without laying it before the Congress, and that the Committee should also be empowered to name witnesses.

"I will move this as an amendment of Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee's motion, that is if I am in order. I leave the matter in our President's hands, but I desire that, in some way, the sense of the meeting be taken as to the points I have suggested."

The President said: "I am afraid that matters are getting a little mixed with amendments on amendments. But, after all, we need not be sticklers for form, overmuch. What we really want to get at is the opinion of the majority of this Congress, and now as it seems to me that the matter has been pretty well threshed out, I propose, with your approval, to try and clear the ground by a few votes. I will put to you the several more important proposals that have been made, and you can by your votes decide which is to be accepted and which are to be rejected." (*Cries of yes, yes, vote, vote.*)

Rajah Rampal Singh's motion that all consideration of the Public Service Question, so far as this Congress is concerned, be deferred, etc., was put to the vote and negatived by a very large majority. The proposal that a Committee be appointed to frame a report and submit it direct to the Commission without laying it before the Congress, was also put and negatived by an overwhelming majority.

Baboo Surendra Nath Banerjee's amendment that a Committee be appointed for the purpose of considering the Public Service Question and reporting thereon to the Congress on the last day of its sitting, was then put by the President; but

Dr. Gurudas Banerjee (*Calcutta, No.* 271) rose and said: "I move as a rider to this motion that the Committee be also instructed to name witnesses."

Baboo Kali Charan Banerjee (*Calcutta, No.* 272) said: "In seconding this amendment, or rider, I wish to point out that the Congress has no right or authority to submit to the Public Service Commission any report which a committee of this Congress may make to it. The Commission has been appointed to take evidence, and not to take into consideration reports that may be submitted to them, no matter whence originating; therefore, the report of our Committee can be of no particular use to our cause, and we shall have done nothing unless we name certain witnesses who will be prepared to give evidence according to the conclusions contained in any report which we may adopt. That is my reason for seconding the amendment."

The President said. "I really do not think that Dr. Gurudas Banerjee's proposition, which is an amendment of an amendment, and which in fact starts a fresh hare, can be accepted. It is all very well, in the Hitopodesa and Alif Leila, to start a new story in the middle of every preceding story, so as to prevent coming too soon to the end of the matter, but our object is to come to an end of our work as soon as we reasonably can. Of course I leave it to you, but my counsel would be that, if he desires to press the matter, Dr. Gurudas Banerjee be requested to move a separate resolution on the subject another day, and that now, it being very late, we proceed at once to vote on Baboo Surendra Nath's amendment." (*General cries of vote, vote.*)

Baboo Surendra Nath Banerjee's motion was then put and carried unanimously.

The whole Congress then sitting as a Committee proceeded to discuss the composition of the Committee, the appointment of which had just been agreed to. It was pointed out that the Hon'ble Mahadeo Govind Ranade, and Rajah Lutchman Singh, being Government servants, and not being delegates, would certainly not consent to sit on the Committee. Dr. Rajendralala Mitra said that he did not feel disposed to sit on the Committee either.

After much conversation the names of the following gentlemen were unanimously agreed to :—

Hon'ble Dadabhai Naoroji (*Bombay, No.* 48).
" S. Subramania Iyer (*Madras, No.* 2).
" Peary Mohun Mookerjee (*Calcutta, No.* 233).
Mr. G. Subramania Iyer (*Madras No.* 5).
Baboo Matilal Ghose (*Calcutta, No.* 335).
Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee (*Calcutta, No.* 239).
" Gungapershad Varma (*Lucknow, No.* 174).
" Ramkali Chowdhry (*Benares, No.* 149).
" Guru Prasad Sen (*Patna, No.* 198).
Pundit Prannath (*Lucknow, No.* 172).
Munshi Kashipershad (*Allahabad, No* 113).
Nawab Reza Ali Khan (*Lucknow, No.* 167).
Mr. Hamid Ali (*Lucknow, No.* 168).
Lala Kanhya Lal (*Amritsur, No.* 104).
Rao Sahib Gungadhur Row Madheo Chitnavis (*Nagpur, No.* 187).
Mr. Rahimatulla M. Sayani (*Bombay, No.* 54).

THE PRESIDENT then declared the Congress adjourned till the next day.

THIRD DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Wednesday, 29th December, 1886.

AT THE TOWN HALL.

THE PRESIDENT said : "We begin to-day with a resolution which Mr. Saminada Iyer will kindly lay before you."

Row Sahib S. A Saminada Iyer (*Tanjore, No.* 41) said : "The resolution, which I have the honor to move, is one which calls for but few remarks from me. It runs as follows: That, in the opinion of this Congress, the time has now arrived when the system of trial by jury may be safely extended into many parts of the country where it is not at present in force. (*Resolution VIII of Summary, page* 44.)

"The gentlemen here assembled are aware that the natural intelligence of their countrymen, sharpened as it has been by the education which has been given to them during the last fifty years, has qualified them to weigh evidence and arrive at just conclusions in the trial of cases before the Court of Sessions. I have myself been a public prosecutor and a Government pleader for 16 years, and I have found during this lengthened experience that the verdicts of juries and of assessors have been in 99 cases out of 100 just and reasonable, and in the vast majority of cases in harmony with the opinion of the Judge himself. I have, therefore, the greatest pleasure in moving this resolution, which should, I think, be accepted by this Congress without the slightest hesitation." (*Cheers.*)

Row Sahib Harilal Harshadrai Dhruva (*Surat, No.* 88) said : "Trial by jury has been tried in many parts of the country, and wherever it has been tried it has been found successful. We have abundant testimony, with which I need not here trouble you, to this fact, and a pleader myself, I can heartily endorse what has fallen from the proposer, himself, a public prosecutor of long standing. Education has now sufficiently advanced in many other parts of the country to render desirable the extension to these also of the jury system. I, therefore, cordially second this resolution, and recommend to your most favorable consideration this most important subject. We have advanced not only in general but also in political education, and this is, if rightly considered, an additional reason for pressing for the extension of trial by jury. It is the proud privilege, I might almost say the indefeasible right, of every free-born subject of Her Gracious Majesty." (*Loud cheers.*)

Dr. Trailokyanath Mitter (*Bengal, No.* 269) supported the motion. He said : "It is unnecessary to dilate upon the benefits of trial by jury, which are very well known to all of us. The question we are considering is whether it should not be much more widely extended; in fact, broadly speaking (though there are exceptions), to all parts of the country. I suppose it is now well known, and generally admitted, that by the progress of education throughout the country, provinces which were at one time backward have now come forward and are ready to accept, and desirous of obtaining, the boon of trial by jury. To those districts, or at any rate to many of them which hitherto have not enjoyed the benefit of trial by jury, it is now the desire of this Congress that it should be extended. It will, of course, remain for the Executive Government to exclude certain districts as, even now, not fit for trial by jury. There are some such, and we do not propose in this resolution of ours to presume to dictate such matters of detail to the Government, or formulate a list of those districts to which an immediate extension is necessary. All we say is, that the time has now come when a very material extension of the system of trial by jury has become alike desirable and practicable. I think no further remarks are necessary from me to commend this resolution to your acceptance."

Lala Kanhya Lal (*Punjab, No.* 104) said : "It is my duty to say something of the circumstances of the province from which I come. When the jury system is once introduced in any place all cases must be tried by a jury, and it will not be left to the option of the accused to refuse or demand trial by jury. That being so, I fear that the Punjab, as a whole, is by no means ripe for such a reform, and therefore I think that in the Punjab we should be reluctant to accept the jury system. The fact is we have not yet a sufficient number of independent educated men from whom jurymen could be selected, and there would always be complaints of the jurors being under the thumb of the officials and the ruling powers of the district. Trial by jury, as a system, is a double-edged thing. It is very useful where you have honest and independent jurors, but a curse where the contrary is the case; for the verdict of a jury, however unjust, if in consonance with the views of the local bureaucracy, is final. There is no getting behind a conviction thus obtained. Where the local official passes an unjust sentence, there is a chance of obtaining redress from higher authorities, but where such sentence is based upon a verdict of ignorant and obsequious jurors, there is no hope of justice. Now I do not think that the Punjab can furnish many of the right stamp of jurors; the district officers are too powerful and overbearing and therefore I submit that our province is not ripe for the general extension of trial by jury. The jurymen will be selected by the local officials, and they will choose the *ap-ke-wastes*, and bad as things are now they will be worse, I fear, under the jury system. Therefore, in my opinion, in the Punjab, trial by jury should only be at the option of the accused and not in every case, as otherwise I fear it may too often result in a lamentable failure of justice."

MR. K. VENKATA ROW (*Bellary, No.* 24) said: "I beg to propose an amendment, by the addition of a rider to the resolution before us, to the effect 'that in presidencies or provinces, where the system of trial by jury has been partially tried and has proved successful, it should be extended to all cases tried by Courts of Sessions; and that the system should also be introduced in trials of all warrant cases before magistrates of all grades, the prisoner having the right, before going into his defence, to demand committal to the Court of Sessions, in cases where, in the opinion of the presiding magistrate, a jury cannot be empanelled before him.'

"My reasons for moving this amendment are that so far as the Madras Presidency, of which I can speak with some experience, is concerned, the system has been in vogue for more than three years in respect of offences against property, and it has worked well and to the satisfaction of the presiding Judges and the public. Very rarely the Judges have differed from the verdict of the jury, and in the majority of such cases, where differences of opinion have existed, the High Court have upheld the jury's verdict. Surely then it is high time to extend the system to all cases coming before the Courts of Sessions.

"With reference to the remaining portion of the proposed amendment, it is in my opinion a very essential and necessary one. The reasons in support thereof are numerous and weighty, but as the gentlemen of the Congress are fully aware of them, some by their bitter personal experience, I will not dilate much upon the subject but shall confine myself to the time allowed by the President. The Sessions Judges are generally, on our side of India, officers of sound judicial education and of long experience, and yet in cases coming before them trial by jury is considered necessary; more necessary must the aid of juries be in cases tried before magistrates. These officers are generally young men of imperfect legal knowledge, and of little experience of the customs and manners of the people over whose destinies they preside. Civilians, within a year or two of their arrival in India, are given second and even first class criminal powers with jurisdiction over large territories and over zemindars, merchants, and all classes of men. As to magistrates of the Uncovenanted Service, these are, at present, with us in Madras, recruited from the lower ranks of the service, and as such they have had no good education and their official morality has not been tried and approved. Most of them do not belong to high or respectable families. Their appointments generally go by favoritism, and, in some cases, directly counter to public opinion. Liberty, property, honor, and everything dear to the nation are at the tender mercies of young magistrates, and I need not say that honor, like chastity, once lost is lost for ever. (*Cheers.*) Of the crimes arising in the country 90 per cent. are disposed of by these gentlemen, practically, without any check. The District Magistrate is, no doubt, authorised by law to supervise their duties, but, his hands being full of administrative work, he rarely exercises his revisional powers. There is, therefore, a great necessity of safe-guarding the exercise of the all-too-large and practically-uncontrolled powers vested in these officers, alike in the interests of justice and for the good of the country, by extending the system of trial by jury to all serious cases tried by them. This proposal of mine will, I believe, be approved by Englishmen in general, as even in England, where elderly men of high family, long experience, tried merit, approved morality and good legal knowledge are given criminal powers, all serious offences of the kind known in India under the denomination of warrant cases are tried by jury, and in other summary cases the prisoner has the right of demanding trial by jury. By granting this boon, criminal work will not be unnecessarily enlarged or delayed, as the trial will be only in warrant cases, and even in such cases the magistrate would have the option of, and the prisoner the right of demanding, committal to the Sessions if a proper jury cannot be empanelled, or if the magistrate think such trial should take place before the higher Court. The prisoner is not likely to exercise this right vexatiously or without reasonable cause, unless he fears that the magistrate is likely to be carried away by prejudices or unworthy motives, as he has to take the chance of getting a severer punishment if convicted by the Court of Sessions. The Judge's work will not be much increased by the adoption of this scheme, as the Sessions Judge will be saved the time and trouble required for hearing appeals in such cases. Even, if it be otherwise, the time spent in such cases is not wasted, as nothing is more precious to the nation, or more essential to the highest interests of Government, than the effective protection of the liberty and honor of the subject. (*Loud cheers.*)

"I, therefore, earnestly pray that the Congress will heartily support me in this amendment."

Row Sahib S. A. Saminada Iyer (*Tanjore, No. 41*), the proposer, said: "I am quite willing to accept this amendment if it be considered appropriate by the President. I entirely concur in it, but it seems to me to go somewhat beyond the scope of the resolution I was asked to move."

Lala Murlidhur (*Punjab, No.* 107) said: "I support this proposal. I came to attend this Congress, released, on bail, from a jail, by the Chief Court (*loud cheers*), to which jail I had been sent by an unjust decision of a magistrate who could never have got any jury to convict me. You are most of you familiar with the case through the public prints. The charge against me was utterly frivolous and false, but simply because I am considered a political agitator, because I have my own opinions and speak what I think without fear (*cheers*), I was as a matter of—call it what you like—convicted, not on weak evidence, but on absolutely no evidence at all. (*Loud cheers.*) There is a great deal of this abuse of power in the Punjab, and I certainly support this amendment as offering us a means of protecting ourselves against official oppression." (*Prolonged cheering.*)

The President said: "Here we have a new proposition which embraces an important principle and involves a large number of details. It is one, I think, that demands a separate and full discussion. I submit that the resolution before us is intended merely to embody the general proposition that the jury system, at present existing in only some parts of India, ought now to be extended to other parts of India which are fitted to receive it, and it will be better to stick at present to this proposition and dispose of it. I may add that Mr. Mano Mohan Ghose has given notice of a separate resolution which he intends to propose to-day, which very nearly covers, I think, the proposed amendment; but if after the discussion of that resolution there still remain any important point, which our friend Mr. Venkata Row desires to press, I would ask him then to draft a separate resolution and place it in my hands for submission to the Congress."

Mr. R. Venkata Row (*Bellary, No.* 24) then withdrew his amendment.

Row Sahib Singaraju V. Subboroyudu (*Madras, No.* 18) said: "The system of trial by jury is not a novelty in India, as some seem to suppose that it is; it had been in force in India for countless ages before we ever heard of the name of Great Britain, in the shape of village punchayets and the like. (*Cheers.*) In my own province there are communities consisting of aboriginal tribes, and even amongst them all their disputes are disposed of by juries. We Hindus are not new emigrants into this country, but it would seem that, even before our advent, the ruder races that preceded us were fully alive to the merits of trial by jury. (*Cheers.*) I must say, I think, that the time has come for extending the system of trial by jury to all criminal cases all over India. Some political life is now becoming manifest amongst us. In political discussions expressions are unavoidably used, which give offence to political opponents—in our case mainly the bureaucracy. We desire to obtain certain rights, as we consider them, and declare it monstrous that these should be withheld from us; on the other hand those who now enjoy what we wish to secure, consider our attempts to get their places and oust them as monstrous, and out of such natural differences of view a tendency grows up for the existence of strained relations between the non-official public and the district authorities. Hence, on this ground as on others, it is highly necessary that our rights, our privileges, and our personal liberty should be carefully safeguarded by the general adoption of the system of trial by jury."

Lala Murlidhur (*Punjab, No.* 107) said: "Ever since it has been enacted by certain wiseacres in certain parts of the province from which I come—'the Punjab'—that to join an assembly of five or more persons is an offence under section 141 of the Penal Code, I have been afraid (as you must all have observed) to take part in any proceedings of this Congress, lest I should be sent to the Presidency Jail. One gentleman from the Punjab has already spoken on the subject of juries, but he has not undergone the trial which I myself have undergone, or his views might perhaps have been different. But, whether or not a trial by one man is better than a trial by a number of gentlemen combined as a jury—whether one man's judgment is always likely to be sound and a number of persons always likely to be such duffers as to be unable to decide a case with at least as much discretion and judgment as the one man now exhibits—this much I must say that, in that part of the province from which I come, the Government has been very unhappy in its choice of magistrates. From my own experience—and I have been practising for more than 12 years in Ambala—I can say that accused persons do not get that fair and impartial trial before magistrates which they would get in a trial by jury. If one thing has been found to work well in one part of this country, why should it not work well in other very similarly circumstanced provinces? Certainly it does not follow that what has been found good for England should prove good for India, the two countries differ so very much in their condition; but when trial by jury has been successful, as we know it has wherever it has been introduced in India, why should it not be successful in other parts of the country, and even in the Punjab, where its *introduction was so deprecated by my friend* Lala Kanhya Lal. I confess I neither understand his arguments nor concur in his facts. I doubt whether there are many, if any, districts in the Punjab where the materials for excellent juries do not exist. I can only say that in all the parts of the province with which I am acquainted I would far rather be tried by any jury that could be got together than by most of the local magistrates of whom I have had any experience. So far from deprecating the introduction of the system of trial by jury into the Punjab, I advocate it most strongly, and I feel sure that it would be a success. It must necessarily be successful; it is not an exotic plant. India has known it from time immemorial; it is not a new system in the Punjab as it exists in every village and every community, and even amongst the lowest classes of the people, who, I must say, are wiser than we are in certain respects, as they manage their own affairs by their own juries and seldom go before the Courts. They have their own magistrates sitting with juries who dispose practically of all cases that can be kept from the knowledge of the police. This system is very popular for under it justice is done, the criminal is punished, and the injured party gets redress instead of being further punished by the extortions of the police; and when a man is found guilty he gladly accepts any punishment which his countrymen may inflict upon him. I say that this indigenous system is the best for our countrymen, and I wish that it was universal instead of prevailing only amongst some of the lower classes; and since the system of trial by jury is the nearest approach to this, now practicable, and is well known to the people, and thoroughly believed in by them, even by those classes in which a resort to it has become more or less obsolete, I have no hesitation in advocating the general introduction of this system even into the 'backward' Punjab."

Row Sahib M. B. Namjoshi (*Poona, No.* 69) said: "The question of the extension of the system of trial by jury to other provinces has come up at a very opportune time: firstly, inasmuch as the Government of India has at present before it the question of amending the Criminal Procedure Code; and, secondly, by reason of its being placed before this National Congress, the importance of which latter fact will be gathered from my subsequent remarks. The reasons given by the several local Governments for not extending the system of trial by jury may be gathered from the papers relating to the past history of the question. It was introduced in 1862, it was modified in 1872, and again further modified in 1882. The discussions that took place on these several occasions show sufficiently the reasons which have been urged against the extension of the jury system. They are practically only two in number, *viz.*, first, that the people are not fit to enjoy this privilege, and, secondly, that, even if the Government were to concede it, there would be, in most places, a difficulty in finding a sufficient number of men capable of acting as jurors. As far as I have been able to study the question neither of these two reasons possess now-a-days any real cogency so far as the great majority of British districts are concerned. There is, however, a third reason which has been urged by certain local Governments, and that is the danger of a miscarriage of justice. There may indeed be a danger of this in the one province of India, the most backward of all, into every district of which (I refer of course to Assam) the Government have, with praiseworthy consistency, extended the jury system, but elsewhere, so far as I can judge, there is no such danger. But even if there were any such danger elsewhere, which I deny, if you only examine the change introduced into the Act of 1872, you will find that it provides, theoretically, against the possible miscarriage of justice by investing the High Courts with revisional powers, so that this supposed possible miscarriage of justice can no longer be urged by any one as a bar to that further extension of the system which we advocate. But to return to the point of the number of persons capable of serving, to good purpose, on juries. Probably the objection based on the supposed paucity of these is also one that can no longer be urged by any reasonable man. The facts of the spread of English education, of the extension of local self-government, of so many persons taking an intelligent interest in public matters, are sufficient to prove that this ground is not now tenable. By the several resolutions which various local Governments have passed they have admitted that, in several parts of the country, we are fitted to exercise the right of self-government. This is a political privilege, higher than that of trial by jury; and if the Government have thought us sufficiently advanced to be entitled to the former, it can scarcely be pleaded that we are still unfit to enjoy the latter—a privilege of a lower degree. But this Congress seems to me to furnish a conclusive reply to this pretence of a paucity of qualified jurors. Here we are gathered together to the number of nearly five hundred men, from almost every single district in the Empire, each of us elected, at least, by hundreds, in many cases by thousands, in some few cases by tens of thousands, of our countrymen, one and all sufficiently enlightened to take the keenest interest in public affairs, and sufficiently independent to make a public avowal of that interest, notwithstanding the frowns of many in authority. Is there here any want of materials for good juries? Manifestly these old objections have melted away; they may have had weight in the past; but in the present day they are only official fictions. (*Loud cheers.*) Therefore, on all the three grounds that the country is fit for and desires the extension of the system of trial by jury, that almost everywhere the most abundant materials exist for excellent juries, and that, except in Assam (where the juries are not Indian), no danger of any miscarriage of justice as a result of trials by jury exists, I uphold and support the resolution now before this Congress."

The President said: "As far as I can judge this assemblage is pretty unanimous in favour of the adoption of this resolution, and, if so, we ought I think to put it to the vote, for we have a great amount of business to get through, and unless we restrain ourselves somewhat and forego the pleasure of ventilating our special views—'I don't speak in any spirit of disparagement'—we shall really, as perhaps I may have casually hinted before, never come to an end of our labours. One gentleman did deprecate the extension of the jury system to his province, but his views do not appear to be shared by other delegates from the Punjab. Now, if there is any other gentleman who is opposed to the extension anywhere else, by all means let him speak; but if all the rest of us are agreed, I think we should proceed to the vote." (*Cries of vote, vote.*)

After waiting a minute the motion was then put by the President and carried unanimously.

The President said: "In connection with the resolution which has just been passed, it has been the opinion of many gentlemen that there is one very important further step which requires to be taken. A resolution has accordingly been drafted, which is not in the printed list (to which I referred when asking Mr. Venkata Row recently to withdraw his proposed amendment), and I will ask Mr. Mano Mohan Ghose to introduce it."

Mr. Mano Mohan Ghose (*Bengal, No.* 270) said: "The forcible observations which have fallen from Mr. Venkata Row of Bellary would alone suffice to justify and support the resolution that I have considered it my duty, in the interests of the country at large, to frame, and now desire to urge upon your consideration. We have just passed a resolution asking for the extension of the jury system in parts of India where it has not hitherto been in force. But our object will be defeated if the policy of 1872 is further extended and certain powers of the Court of Sessions are to be taken away from them and made over to first class magistrates. I speak from personal experience of the criminal administration of the country when I say that there is a large class of cases where, by reason of the combination of the magisterial and judicial functions, a failure of justice results. In 1882, by the Summary Jurisdiction Act, every European accused became entitled to demand that, in serious cases, *viz.*, cases which are punishable by imprisonment of more than two for three months, he should be tried by a jury. I propose a similar provision whereby every accused person may demand, in serious cases, to be tried by the Court of Sessions. A suggestion of this character was made to the Government in 1882, and met with the cordial approval of Mr. Ilbert, but it was then too late as the Bill was ready for passing, and we were advised to submit the suggestion when the Act was next revised. It is now probably soon to be again revised, and if you now pass a resolution of the character I propose, it will no doubt have great weight with the Government. (*Cheers.*) Therefore I move the following resolution, *viz.*, that, in the opinion of this Congress, a provision, similar to that contained in the Summary Jurisdiction Act of England (under which accused persons in serious cases have the option of demanding a committal to the Sessions Court), should be introduced into the Indian Code of Criminal Procedure, enabling accused persons, in warrant cases, to demand that, instead of being tried by the magistrate, they be committed to the Court of Sessions." (*Resolution X of Summary, page* 44.)

Mr. T. Chidambara Row, (*Bellary, No.* 26) said: "In seconding this resolution I have to offer a few remarks. Magistrates of the first class, often quite young and inexperienced officers, are invested with extraordinary powers; they can sentence to imprisonment for two years and to a fine of Rs. 1,000; and unless those powers are restricted in some way, and we are given some protection against their arbitrary misuse, our liberties will remain, as now, at the mercy of men often far from competent, from a legal point of view, to exercise these great powers, and occasionally devoid even of that conscientiousness that in former days was the characteristic of British officers. Moreover, in many cases of imprisonment (in all below a certain term), there is no appeal, and some magistrates take advantage of this and pass minor sentences in order that the unfortunate persons, they desire to punish, may not have a chance of justice. (*Cheers.*) It is for these and other reasons that my learned friend proposes to give this option of trial before a Sessions Court and a jury to the accused, in all warrant cases, and I have no hesitation in saying that this is most desirable, not only in the interests of the people, but even in that of the Government, if they are to maintain the character of their Courts for justice." (*Loud cheers.*)

Mr. M. Ramanuja Chariar (*Chingleput, No.* 39) said: "In rising to support this resolution I will only say a very few words. I have known of many cases in which respectable men have been tried by magistrates for serious offences. In these cases the parties have had to employ counsel at great expense, to induce magistrates to commit to the Sessions Court, even if the case is one of concurrent jurisdiction, but in those cases in which the Sessions Court has no jurisdiction the accused has no option, but is bound to submit to trial by the magistrate. Where, however, the Sessions Court has concurrent jurisdiction, the parties think it a great boon to have their cases transferred because they feel and know that they will then have a trial by jury, or by the aid of assessors, as well as before far more experienced and, in consequence of their having no executive functions, far more impartial Judges. (*Loud cheers.*) I, therefore, submit that it is desirable to pass this resolution."

KHAJEH ABDOOL ALEEM (*Dacca, No.* 351), who spoke in Urdu, said: "I do not know and I do not think that our British officers willingly do injustice, but certainly when an officer working as head policeman has for a long time been trying to find out who committed a crime, and then, consulting with the superintendent of police, gradually gets what he thinks is a clue, and then day by day the police send in evidence, and at last on this a man is arrested, it is no disparagement to that officer to say that the supposed criminal cannot get as impartial a trial before that officer as he would before one who had never heard anything of the case before, and had formed no opinion as to who the guilty persons were. No one ever has to find fault with our Calcutta magistrates; and why? Because those magistrates are quite separate from the police, and they are as ready to find fault with the police if they have done wrong as to punish the accused if he is found guilty, and no one will blame them if there are acquittals in many cases coming before them, and they come, quite without prejudice against the prisoner, to the case of which they know nothing. But all this is quite different with our mofussil magistrates. Now we want all our mofussil magistrates to be just like our Calcutta magistrates, and we hope this will be some day; but till we get this, at least let accused persons, in all warrant cases, have the right to demand a trial before the Sessions Judge, who must necessarily be a more experienced officer, and who will not be at all likely, or at any rate so likely, to be biassed in any way in the case, as the magistrates almost necessarily in the mofussil must be. I say warrant cases, because imprisonment, however unjust, and even though the sentence be later reversed, is with us the destruction of a gentleman's position (*izzut*), and once destroyed, like a mango tree cut down, it can never grow again. I do not want to waste the time of this assembly, but I have known so many and cruel cases of irreparable injury thus done that I have no hesitation in most earnestly advocating this resolution."

MUNSHI SADHO LAL (*Benares, No.* 146) said: "The system of summary trials is altogether injurious to the public, and it should be, I think, abolished altogether."

MR. DEVI CHARAN BARUA (*Assam, No.* 429) said: "All the districts in Assam are jury districts, and the introduction of the jury system there has been injurious. It is not so of course universally, but chiefly in cases in which Europeans are involved, because the majority on the jury list are Europeans, and they are selected from a class of men strong in race prejudices and ignorant of the first principles of jurisprudence—I mean the class of tea planters. They are generally a class greatly wanting not only in culture but in that sense of fair play (where natives of India are concerned) wrongly supposed to be inherent in all Britons, and their verdict is not always in conformity with the evidence or the dictates of justice; and in my opinion—and I speak from personal experience—the jury system has proved injurious to Assam, and this very system is one of the reasons why our poor coolies are so oppressed in Assam. I know little of other parts of the country, and knowing what the results had been in Assam, I hesitated to support the extension of the system to other provinces. If, however, even in the jury system, we got fair play—if the European members of the jury were reduced to one half and the remaining half were taken from the native community—even in Assam there would not be any great probability of injustice to the poorer classes. So I say the jury system in itself is no doubt good, but if dishonestly worked—and if in Assam, why not elsewhere?—it becomes a curse instead of a blessing."

MR. MANO MOHAN GHOSE (*Calcutta, No.* 270) here rose and explained that this objection to the extension of the system of trial by jury was scarcely in order, since the question of its extension had already been disposed of by the previous resolution. The speaker (Mr. Barua) concluded by saying that, on the whole, he was in favour of the jury system, and he hoped it would be extended to all the provinces of the Empire, and more honestly worked there than it ever had been in Assam.

ROW SAHIB RAGHUNATH PANDURANG KARANDIKAR (*Sattara, No.* 78) said: "It is proposed that in warrant cases the accused person should be able to claim a trial by jury. This is quite right and proper, but there seem to be practical difficulties. Take the case of talookas, in which 3rd class magistrates have to try such cases—I mean warrant cases in which at present the accused cannot claim trial by jury. This side of the question must also be considered. We have 2nd and 3rd class magistrates before whom warrant cases are daily taken; there ought to be one rule, and it is very necessary that in these cases, as well as in those coming before a 1st class magistrate, the accused should have the option of trial by jury; therefore, unless we wish that our reform should remain imperfect, our resolution should recommend that these magistrates also should be empowered to commit to the Court of Sessions."

Mr. Mano Mohan Ghose (*Calcutta, No.* 270) said : "I have to make one observation in explanation. This privilege would only be claimed in extreme cases where the accused felt that he was very unlikely to receive a fair trial before the magistrate, for he must know that by demanding a trial by the Sessions Court he runs the risk of a severer punishment, and that would prevent his insisting on the privilege frivolously. It will not be necessary to empower 2nd and 3rd class magistrates to commit to the Sessions. It even now happens that 2nd and 3rd class magistrates often have before them cases which they cannot punish adequately, and consequently send them on to 1st class magistrates, who have power to commit to the Sessions. Similarly the few warrant cases coming before 2nd and 3rd class magistrates, in which the right to be tried by jury was insisted on, would be sent on by these magistrates to some 1st class magistrate who would commit. There is no difficulty in this."

The resolution was then put to the vote and carried unanimously.

Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee (*Calcutta, No.* 275) said : "The resolution which has been entrusted to me is a corollary of the two resolutions which you have just passed. It runs as follows :—

"'That, in the opinion of this Congress, the innovation made in 1872 in the system of trial by jury, depriving the verdicts of juries of all finality, has proved injurious to the country, and that the powers then, for the first time, vested in Sessions Judges and High Courts, of setting aside verdicts of acquittal, should be at once withdrawn.' (*Resolution IX of Summary, page* 44).

"I shall explain in a few words what is meant by this resolution. If we are to have trials by jury it is absurd to suppose that when a verdict of acquittal has been passed by a jury it is to be left to the Sessions Judge to say whether he will accept the verdict or not, or whether he will send the case to the High Court to be tried by them on paper evidence, without, in the case of a poor person, the accused being represented before them. Trials by jury will become a dead letter if this power continue to be vested in Sessions Judges. As I have always understood, the prisoner is entitled to the benefit of any reasonable doubt as to his guilt that may exist in the mind of any person trying him. How can it be said, if 5 or 7 or 9 persons are of opinion that a man is not guilty, that there is no doubt as to his guilt, to which he is entitled to have the benefit? A jury acquits, but the Sessions Judge says, I think the jury are wrong, and the High Court, looking at the evidence on paper, agrees with him, and therefore the man must be convicted. In such a case the man does not really get the benefit of trial by jury or the benefit of the doubt which must have existed in the minds of the jury, or they would not have acquitted him. If a verdict of acquittal is pronounced that verdict should be final. It used to be so until the year 1872. The law which existed up to that time was first drafted by the Indian Law Commission sitting in England. It was very carefully revised by such distinguished jurists as Sir B. Peacock, Sir Mordaunt Wells, Sir C. Jackson and others ; and they concurred in the wisdom of treating verdicts of acquittal as final. But Sir James Stephen and Sir George Campbell thought otherwise, and though we did all we could to prevent this being done, unfortunately our voice did not prevail. I have purposely confined myself to the verdicts of acquittal by juries. Where a jury convicts, and the Judge is of opinion that the verdict is wrong, I would allow the Sessions Judge to refer the case to the High Court ; and I would do so on the same principle that I oppose convictions where a jury thinks the accused is not guilty, *viz.*, that where a doubt exists as to his guilt, be it in the minds of jury or Judge, the accused ought to have the benefit of that doubt. So far as acquittals are concerned, we say that this power which was given to the Sessions Judges in 1872 was in violation of a fundamental principle of jurisprudence and has proved injurious to the country, and we, who are in the practice of the law, see the immense wrong that has been done under this provision of the law."

The Hon. Peary Mohan Mookerjee (*Calcutta, No.* 233) said : "I second the motion."

Baboo Kali Sunkur Sukul (*Calcutta, No.* 258) said : "I beg leave to oppose the ion. It is with great diffidence that I rise to measure lances, and especially as to a point of law, with so redoubted a champion as Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee ; but I think the proposal is likely to be fraught with great inconvenience and injustice, in Bengal at any rate. This is a corollary to other resolutions, no doubt, but suppose our other proposals are not accepted by the Government, surely great injustice will result if only this proposal is accepted and others ignored. We ought to remember that we are unfortunately a subject race, and if there are certain provisions in the existing code of laws, which guard us against the oppression of the dominant race, we should cling to those safeguards which afford us some chance, at least, of having justice done to us. You are aware that every Anglo-Indian has at the present moment the right to be tried by jury, and you know that in too many cases, where Europeans are the culprits, this trial by jury is followed by results which are not consistent with justice. (*Cheers.*) It is a matter of very great regret, but, nevertheless, it is a fact that we do not get justice done in such cases. (*Cheers from Bengal and Assam delegates.*) Under these circumstances, if we pass this resolution, and if the Government accept it and carry out our views, I think it will be productive of very great wrong. (*Cheers.*) Under present circumstances, especially in Bengal, the proposal to introduce this change into the law, just at this present time, is scarcely a happy one. If the other resolutions before the Congress are accepted by Government, I would certainly not oppose this one, but standing, as it possibly may, alone, I cannot approve it. (*Cheers.*)

"A case occurred some time ago, to which I shall only make the faintest allusion, where the voice of the country was unanimously raised against a grave miscarriage of justice—a miscarriage which was remedied by the interference of the High Court, although unfortunately the Government has, to a great extent, rendered that interference of no avail. The country has, with one voice declared against the action of Government, and Government will probably be more careful, henceforth, how it interferes with the deliberate judgments of the High Court; but, if we pass this resolution, we shall be placing ourselves at the mercy of juries, strong in class bias, and far more intent on screening even a disreputable member of their own community than on protecting us from the oppression of the culprit and others like him, and we shall have deprived those higher-minded and less-prejudiced Europeans, our High Court and Sessions Judges, of all powers of interposing to prevent such miscarriages of justice. (*Loud cheers.*)

"Under these circumstances, however desirable a resolution of this description may be after the main propositions to which this is a corollary have been adopted, I must contend that, under present circumstances, especially in Bengal, the adoption of this proposition will be fraught with grievous injustice to the people of Bengal and Assam. (*Cheers.*)

BABOO KAILASH CHANDRA SEN (*Dacca, No.* 350) said: "I support the resolution. Within the course of my experience, extending over a period of 16 years as a pleader in Assam, and for some time in Backergunge, a district remarkable for criminal accusations, I can testify to the fact that the power given to the Sessions Judges of interfering with the verdicts of juries and ignoring the opinion of assessors has been fraught with great evil. Only the other day there was a case in Dacca in which the verdict of a jury, supported by public opinion of a very strong character, was for acquitting the prisoners; the Judge opposed the verdict and referred the matter to the High Court; and although the Dacca public were convinced that the prisoners, one and all, were innocent, they were sentenced to transportation for life. Other cases have come within the range of my own experience—and I can speak with authority when I say that this power, exercised by the Sessions Court, is most injurious, so much so that whenever there is a sensational case against any native prisoners and the jury acquits the prisoners, the Sessions Judge generally refers the case to the High Court, and the High Court, without having the prisoners before them, are required to pass an opinion upon evidence manufactured by the police. A previous speaker has dwelt upon the danger of depriving higher authorities of the power of rectifying the injustice done by European juries in acquitting European prisoners, especially in Assam. I know something of Assam, and I want to ask you in how many cases has that power ever been exercised? There have been many cases in which, were not this power a mere legal fiction where Europeans are concerned, it ought certainly to have been exercised. But has it ever been so? Never, I say; never until this recent case to which that speaker referred and in which two Judges of the High Court, one of them a native—mark that—tried to do justice and to punish as he deserved, an European transgressor of the law, wrongfully, as the High Court held, acquitted by a jury of his fellow countrymen. And what was the result? The Government nullifying the work of the Judges, releases the offender. So, in fourteen years, there has been one case in which the High Court has tried to do justice under this provision, in the case of an European, and in that one case Government undid their work. It is foolish then to talk of this provision being any protection to us, any safeguard against the escape of guilty Europeans. So far as this is concerned it is mere sham. But on the other hand, during these fourteen years, numbers—I dare say it would be more correct to say hundreds, but I speak only from my own experience—of natives, acquitted by juries who had all the parties before them, have been under this provision, as I believe, wrongfully punished on paper evidence. There is no sham about *this*—it is a stern and terrible reality, and there are scores and scores of desolate homes and hundreds of men working in chains or lying dead in dishonoured graves in the Andamans, by reason of this unconstitutional and objectionable provision. To cling to it is indeed to grasp a shadow and let go the reality.

"I therefore, beg to support this resolution, and hope that the amendment of the law, which has been very wisely proposed by Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, will be accepted; and that in cases of acquittal the verdict of juries will be final, while in cases of conviction by juries the existing power of interference will be allowed to continue, so that the prisoner may have the benefit of the doubt, in all cases, be that doubt one in the minds of jurors or Judges."

Munshi Sadho Lal (*Benares, No.* 146), speaking in Urdu, said: "I desire to endorse what has been said by the last speaker. As a matter of practice, great injustice and cruelty results from the exercise of this power of punishing in defiance of the verdicts of juries, who understand the way cases are got up better than English Judges, and I have never known *any* good of any kind come of it."

Baboo Kalicharan Banerjee (*Calcutta, No.* 273) said: "This is a matter in which we are in danger of being carried away by sentiment. Two arguments appear to have been adduced in support of this proposed resolution. One is the desirability of carrying out the system of trial by jury in its integrity—of having, in fact, a perfect jury system. Now, gentlemen, a perfect jury system is only adapted to a perfect condition of society. If we were certain of always getting juries who would give the right verdict, I should be the first to desire absolute finality for those verdicts. But the learned mover of the resolution has admitted that we are not likely to be blessed with any such infallible and immaculate juries, inasmuch as he is prepared, and desires, to allow a reference to the High Court in cases in which the jury bring in a verdict of guilty and the Judge disagrees. The second argument in favour of the resolution is that, when a jury arrives at a verdict of acquittal, that verdict implies that there is a doubt in the case, and inasmuch as the benefit of the doubt should always be given to the accused, there should be no reference to the High Court and, consequently, no conviction. But we must take into account a certain class of verdicts of acquittal wherein the acquittal is not based on the principle of giving the benefit of a doubt to the prisoner: these verdicts are known as perverse verdicts, where doubt or no doubt the jurors make up their minds to acquit. If juries sometimes do, as is well known, give perverse verdicts, the argument that the benefit of the doubt should be given to the accused clearly does not apply to all cases; and, although the Code provides for reference in such cases to the High Court, this latter never interferes with a verdict of acquital unless it considers it a perverse verdict. I consider this provision a substantial safeguard against perverse verdicts, and I must, therefore, oppose any proposal for its removal."

Mr. Sitala Kanta Chatterjee (*Meerut, No.* 155) said: "I rise to support what has been said by Baboo Kali Sunkur Sukul. I am of opinion that the two previous resolutions must first be accepted by the Government before this present resolution can be supported by this Congress. You have heard of cases of murder and outrage of women in Assam, which is the most backward province in India, and yet it is the only province in which every district is a jury district, and what is the reason? In Bengal, which is one of the most advanced provinces, there are very few jury districts. In most districts Sessions cases are tried with the aid of assessors. The reason is that, in every district of Assam, there are planters, and the result is that, when any outrage is committed and the case is tried by a jury, the accused is generally acquitted. If the jury system was extended to all parts of India—if the natives could claim to be tried by juries of their own countrymen, as Europeans can—in that case we might support this resolution."

Pandit Jwalanath Sarma (*Calcutta, No.* 251) said: "I have something to say in reply to the observations made by Baboo Kalicharan Banerjee. In this country the judging persons and the judged persons do not, in the mass of these cases, belong to the same class. Native jurors, trying native prisoners, are far more likely to be right in the conclusion at which they arrive than is the English Judge. Native juries know a great many things that European Judges do not; they understand how false cases are got up; a thousand insignificant matters may transpire in the course of a case, which have no significance to the Judge, but which at once carry a conviction of the innocence of the prisoner to the better informed minds of the jurors. As Mr. Bonnerjee pointed out, it is only right that, in all cases, the prisoner should have the benefit of any doubt as to his guilt, but it is doubly essential that he should receive this benefit when the persons, in whose minds that doubt exists, are people who understand him and his ways and customs and thoughts, and those of all parties concerned in the case, while the only persons who do not doubt his guilt, are foreign Judges who are more or less ignorant of all these things.

"Of course I understand the feeling that underlies the opposition that this resolution is meeting with. The fear is that some English planter criminals, wrongfully acquitted by juries of their countrymen, will, in the absence of this provision, thus escape all punishment. Now there are three answers to this argument which, taken together, are absolutely conclusive. In the first place, as I assume that native juries are the best judges of native criminals, so I think it not unreasonable to suppose that European juries are the best judges of the guilt of European prisoners. I refuse to believe that European juries anywhere habitually betray their trust. (*Cheers.*) I think it quite possible that in some cases in which we think that they have done so, they, with their better knowledge of what Europeans are, may be right. (*Hear, hear.*)

"Again, if fifty Europeans thus escaped, it would be better, if our authorities are correct, than that one man should be wrongfully convicted; but what is the fact? Why, as has been already pointed out, for one European, who may possibly thus escape his merited punishment, hundreds of innocent natives are, under this provision, wrongfully convicted.

"But, lastly, as has also been pointed out, the power is *never* used to prevent that one European escaping; it is only, and very freely, used to prevent the escape of innocent natives.

"Baboo Kalicharan Banerjee is very strong about perverse verdicts. Well, as to perverse verdicts of European juries, I venture to hope I have disposed of these, and I would ask you all—and I suppose nearly one-fourth of you belong, like myself, to the legal profession—how many perverse verdicts of native juries have you met with? I believe you will agree with me that these are quite exceptional. Now we have to look to the bulk of the cases, not the exceptions, and here I say, as I said before, better ten men escape, in such cases, than one man be punished where it is not the verdict of jury but the opinion of the Judge that is perverse (*cheers*), or at any rate erroneous; and, as a fact, this latter is ten times more common than any perversity in verdicts of native juries. I do not know whether I have succeeded in convincing any of those opposed to this resolution, but I know that I, at any rate, shall heartily support it."

Baboo Bepin Chunder Pal (*Assam, No.* 432) said: "I want to say a few words to our brethren from Madras and Bombay. Some of our Bengal delegates at any rate know sufficiently well the state of things here. I should like to ask the delegates from Madras and Bombay to go over the files of cases that have occurred in the Bengal Presidency, as for instance the case of Webb and other similiar cases to which I don't wish to refer, and to say whether under the system of trial by jury in Assam there has not been a very serious miscarriage of justice. Sylhet is a district in Assam which has not the privilege of trial by jury, because it is not a planting district. Therefore, in the name of the coolies in Assam, I ask you not to pass this resolution. There will be ample time when the previous resolution has been accepted by Government to have this resolution passed."

Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee (*Calcutta, No.* 275) said: "I wish to say a few words in explanation. In reference to the speeches delivered by two of our delegates from Assam I wish to point out that they have lost sight of the fact that, as far as European British subjects are concerned, they may claim trial by jury in districts where ordinary cases are triable with the aid of assessors. A European British subject must be so tried as a matter of right, and probably by a jury consisting of his own countrymen anywhere and everywhere in British India. There is nothing to prevent that being done. Let us assume that five persons improperly escape the punishment due to their offences. Is that any reason why hundreds, nay thousands, of your countrymen should be wrongfully punished? Is it not the admitted principle, as Pandit Jwalanath has rightly insisted, that ten guilty persons should escape rather than that one innocent person should suffer? We must not surely say that because, if we pass this resolution, injustice may possibly be done at some future day in some one or two isolated cases, therefore we will not pass this resolution which will get rid of a system under which injustice is actually being done daily, is actually done in hundreds of cases yearly. We must not allow the race-feeling that underlies the present opposition to lead us into misstatements and misrepresentations. The prevalence of the jury system in Assam, its absence in Sylhet, have nothing earthly to do with the planters, or planters' interests. Sylhet is truly the only district in Assam where the system of trial by jury does not exist; but that is simply, because at one time Sylhet was a part of Bengal in which trial by jury did not exist, and has only recently been made a part of Assam. In Assam proper, long before any planters went there, the whole province had trial by jury. We have many legitimate grounds for complaint, but we must not injure a good cause by misstatements."

Baboo Ambica Charan Mazumdar (*Furreedpore, No.* 316) said: "Having heard what has been said by Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee in explanation of his proposition and by previous eloquent speakers, I am still far from convinced that this proposed measure is free from serious disadvantages. The hypothesis is I believe that it is practically only native prisoners who are punished by High Courts after acquittal by juries and not any other persons; and this belief is strengthened by the explanation which has just been offered by Mr. Bonnerjee, in which he said that we must consider rather the cases of the thousands of natives of India and not of the five or ten Europeans who might stand as accused persons. But, if you look at the principle of the thing and the state of the country also, you must admit that these five or ten persons may do more injustice and harm than 5,000 other men can do. And in fact, I believe, that this proposition is premature, and as our eloquent countryman Baboo Kalicharan Banerjee has virtually suggested, it is better to postpone the consideration of this proposition to the next Congress. It is not perhaps in my power to convince you of the reasonableness of my objection, but you must all feel and understand that it will be a serious step to take at the present moment. In principle it may be a very good thing. It may sound very well. But look at the condition of the country and then pronounce your verdict. You are all delegates here from various parts of the Empire, but before raising your hands in favour of this proposition, pause and consider whether your verdict will be supported by the verdict of those whom you represent. Do not in the excitement of the moment accept this principle."

BABOO KESHUB CHUNDER ACHARJEE CHOWDHRY (*Mymensing, No.* 394A) said: "If I at all understand the argument of the gentleman who has just sat down it is that these Europeans are such terrible beings that it is better for 5,000 natives to be wrongfully convicted than for five or ten of these Europeans to escape the punishment of their crimes. That is what his argument comes to if it means anything. He said that if we looked round the country we must admit that these five or ten Europeans may do more harm and injustice than 5,000 other men can, and that therefore he would oppose the resolution, which I may summarise as doing away with a power under which theoretically these five or ten might receive their deserts, but under which practically thousands of innocent men are wrongfully punished. But it has been pointed out again and again in this discussion that this theoretical power is *never* exercised where Europeans are concerned. Therefore, merely for the sake of being able to feel that a power exists which theoretically might be, though it never is, used to punish rightly five or ten Europeans wrongfully acquitted by juries, you will maintain that power which is only practically used to punish wrongfully thousands of natives rightly acquitted by juries. This, gentlemen, is a height of sentiment to which I am unable to rise. But leaving this for a moment there is another aspect of the case which seems to me to have been wholly overlooked. Suppose, for an instant, that a complaint is brought by a planter against a coolie; suppose he charges him with having tried to kill him and that the native jury pronounce a verdict of acquittal. What is likely to be the fate of that poor coolie if the Judge retains the power of sending the case to the High Court? Mr. Bonnerjee has been accused of being influenced by sentiment, but I rather think that it is those who oppose this resolution who are so influenced. There are, say, 500 planters and 5 millions of natives in Assam. It is not a new or unheard-of thing, I regret to say, for planters to bring false cases against their coolies. What Judge will believe that an apparently respectable planter with respectable surroundings will swear falsely to ruin a poor native. The native jury may know better and they may rightfully acquit, but if the existing power remains in the Judge's hands, I would not give much for the chance of that innocent man's escape when his case is sent up with a recommendation for conviction by the Judge to the High Court. But those who oppose this resolution would rather leave the 5 millions of Assam, nay the 200 millions of India, liable to such wrongful convictions, than forego the vast privilege of feeling that there does exist theoretically a power, never exercised in practice, whereby some five or ten planters, wrongfully acquitted by their countrymen, might, if the Government chose (which it does not), be punished as they deserve. This view of the case is beyond my comprehension and I support most strongly Mr. Bonnerjee's motion."

BABOO KRISHNA KUMAR MITRA (*Calcutta, No.* 260) said: "In Bengal there are 42 districts, and out of these only five or six districts enjoy the right of trial by jury. If this resolution is passed only one section of the community will be benefited—I mean Englishmen—and therefore I object to this proposition, and I appeal to the delegates who have come from Madras and Bombay to think twice before they express any opinion on this proposal. We in Bengal shall be the principal sufferers if this proposal is passed."

ROW SAHIB P. ANANDA CHARLU (*Madras, No.* 6) said: "From the beginning of this discussion I was willing to be a listener, because this is a resolution which I was not prepared for. All the grounds which can be urged against it have been put forward in a very masterly way by Baboo Kalicharan Banerjee, and I, at any rate, feel that I have to thank him greatly for having put his side of the question so clearly before me. I am inclined to think there is an undue assumption involved in this resolution, and that assumption is an utter want of confidence in the highest tribunals of the land. I could never be a party to any resolution which assumes that the highest Court of the land has a tendency to prove perverse. It has been said that thousands of cases have to be considered, that in hundreds, if not thousands, of cases prisoners rightly acquitted by juries have on reference been wrongly convicted by High Courts. I coming from Madras (and speaking from an experience there of 15 years in the legal profession) am prepared to say that, as far as my experience is concerned, the desire of the High Court is not to differ from the verdicts of juries, but if possible to sustain them. If the state of things is altogether different in Bengal that may be a proper reason for a movement in connection with Bengal but it is not a sufficient ground for passing a resolution by a National Congress. In Madras the complaint is rather that the High Court is not sufficiently inclined to interfere with the verdicts of juries, and I have known several cases in which the High Court has refused to do this. I look upon the section of the Code to which objection is taken as a safeguard; and I look upon the highest Court of the land as an additional safeguard. If it goes wrong in any case it is a misfortune, but I could not be brought to take part in any resolution if the effect of it be, as in this case it *primâ facie* seems to be, to show a want of confidence in the High Courts. I speak, however, under correction, and I should be glad to hear more on this point."

Baboo Norendro Nath Sen (*Calcutta, No.* 243) said: "I think the best person to speak upon this subject would be Mr. Mano Mohan Ghose, who has had very great experience in criminal proceedings, especially in the mofussil, and I should like to hear what he has to say on the subject."

Mr. Mano Mohan Ghose (*Calcutta, No.* 270) said: "There has been a great deal of misunderstanding and misapprehension on this subject. As far as European British subjects are concerned they had, in all cases before 1872, the right to be tried by the High Court only and before a jury of their own countrymen, but in 1872 it was enacted that, in certain specified classes of cases, European British subjects could be tried in the mofussil, but even then only before a jury composed of a majority of their own countrymen. Therefore, as far as European British subjects are concerned, this resolution does not practically make any appreciable difference. It is intended only to protect the native population of the country, and there is great force in what Baboo Keshub Chunder Chowdhry so forcibly urged, that Mr. Bonnerjee's resolution could only operate to provide a safeguard for the native races. I yield to no one in my respect for the High Court; it is the great bulwark of the liberties of the people in the present state of the country, and I have watched with great regret and pain the operation of that section of the Code which enables the High Court to interfere with the verdicts of juries. I know of many cases where, on paper evidence, men have been hanged contrary to the verdict of juries, and where in my judgment they ought not to have been even committed. I am not prepared to say that two Judges, even of the High Court, however eminent, are better qualified with only the papers of a case before them to judge of its merits than five intelligent natives of the country who have had before them all the parties and witnesses.

"The present Chief Justice of Bengal has declared that he would be very sorry, as a foreigner, to disturb the verdict of five men of the country. If now you understand this resolution correctly, and are able to realize that it does not confer any new privilege practically upon European British subjects, but that it only helps the natives and puts them to a great extent in the same position that the Europeans now occupy, a good deal of the misapprehension that seems to have existed will I hope disappear. A recent case has probably had a great deal to do with the reluctance felt by some of you to accept this resolution; but, as a matter of fact, if a man is convicted by the Sessions Court on a charge which, under the Criminal Procedure Code, could not be tried before such Court, and if that point were taken, he could not be tried by jury in Assam at all, but must be tried by the High Court here by a jury of Europeans whose verdict is even now final. Therefore I advise you not to be led away by sentiment, but to take the matter properly into consideration.

"You will find that, in the immense majority of mofussil cases, natives will be the accused persons, and it is specially to meet their cases that Mr. Bonnerjee has wisely suggested this resolution. It may be that a few European offenders may escape, but that happens even now, and will happen no oftener even if you agree to this resolution. At present what we aim at is to place natives in the same position in these matters that Europeans already practically occupy."

The Honorable S. Subramania Iyer (*Madras, No.* 2) said: "I cannot discover that this resolution involves, as my friend Mr. Ananda Charlu seems to suppose, any assumption derogatory to the dignity, or in any way impugning the integrity of our High Courts. As pointed out at the outset by the proposer, the one vital principle that underlies the resolution is that the accused is entitled to the benefit of any doubt as to his guilt that may arise in the minds of any of the parties whose office, whether as judge or juror, it is to try him. A great deal of irrelevant matter, if I may presume to say so, has, I think, been introduced into the discussion, but I would now ask does any one doubt the correctness of that principle, and if no one does, why should we not pass a resolution which simply embodies this principle, neither more nor less." (*Loud cheers.*)

The President said: "Although considerable differences of opinion appear to exist in regard to this resolution, it has been so exhaustively and ably discussed that I do not think any further light is likely to be thrown on the subject, and therefore with your approval I will now put it to the vote." (*Cries of yes, yes.*)

The resolution was then put to the vote and carried by a very large majority.

Mr. Daji Abaji Khare (*Bombay, No* 56) said: "The resolution which I have to submit for your consideration is one dealing with a matter in which all are interested, and with which all are well acquainted, and I am quite sure that very little need be said to commend it to your approval.

"This resolution runs as follows: 'That this Congress do place on record an expression of the universal conviction, that a complete separation of executive and judicial functions (such that in no case the two functions shall be combined in the same officer) has become an urgent necessity, and that, in its opinion, it behoves the Government to effect this separation without further delay, even though this should, in some provinces, involve some extra expenditure.' (*Resolution XI of Summary, page* 45.)

"The principle embodied in this resolution has not only been accepted by all of us, throughout the country, but it has been accepted by the Government of India, and by almost all the local Governments, who have agreed that the separation of the executive and judicial functions is a necessary condition of really satisfactory administration. The only doubt that is felt, in this matter, is as regards the additional expenditure that will be incurred, in consequence of effecting this separation. But even as regards expenditure, alike in Bengal, in the North-Western Provinces, and in Madras, it has been made pretty clear that no considerable increase of expenditure will, under a proper scheme of reconstruction, be entailed. In Bombay also I am confident that, if proper enquiries are made and proper methods adopted, it will be found that the necessary extra expenditure is by no means large, and certainly not so large as to outweigh the great advantages which the entire population will derive from this fundamental reform.

"How desirable this reform is in the interests alike of the Government and the people it is almost superfluous to explain. The existing system violates the very first principles of jurisprudence (*cheers*), for if you invest the executive, as now, with judicial powers, you in fact make that executive prosecutor as well as judge; nay, as a large number of offences are mere transgressions of rules and regulations of the executive, you go further in such cases and make this executive the judge, as it were, in its own cause. (*Loud cheers.*) It is not wholly the fault of the executive, but somehow or another it has often occurred, indeed it seems to be almost a general rule, that executive officers work up a sort of personal interest in carrying certain measures into operation, and consequently insensibly generate a certain bias in their minds against particular people, who disapprove these measures, and this bias clearly makes them unfit judges in cases relating to those measures or those people. (*Cheers.*) Again, executive officers, burthened with a vast variety of miscellaneous business, have not, and cannot by any effort *make*, sufficient time to dispose calmly, systematically and with due deliberation of the judicial work that comes before them.

"It has been found in Bombay that the Collector of the District, although invested with full judicial powers, very seldom if ever tries any cases in which he has no personal concern, and that simply because he has not sufficient time. Yet, every now and then, he takes it into his head to try some particular person whose conviction he wants to make sure of, and it is needless to say that such trials are characterized, as a rule throughout, by the exhibition, on the part of the presiding officer, of a spirit more befitting a public prosecutor than an impartial judge. (*Cheers.*)

"He may be right in the main, the accused may be a great rascal, the presiding officer's *animus* against him may be based on the purest concern for the public welfare; the Collector may know the ins and outs of the case better than any one else; he may be the fittest possible person to be public prosecutor, but it is a mere mockery of justice to allow such a person to be *also* the judge. (*Prolonged cheers.*)

"Moreover, in order that a person may be safely entrusted with large judicial powers, he must lead the life of a judge—a life apart from and uncoloured by those conflicting interests out of which so many cases arise, and he must have besides ample opportunities for mastering the spirit as well as the letter of the law, and for becoming saturated with the fundamental principles of jurisprudence. It will not be gainsaid that, as matters now stand, the executive, in all but the highest grades, is unfortunately almost normally in opposition to the people, and as a necessity the trial of cases—and they are very numerous—in which really the opposing parties are the executive and the people, by that executive, is far from being impartial. (*Loud cheers.*) I will give a recent example that occurred in the Canara district. There, there is an association, a sabha constituted for the protection locally of public interests—a perfectly legal, constitutional and well-managed association. All know how cruelly our forest laws have of late years pressed upon the people of our presidency, and, in discharge of its legitimate functions, this association commenced an agitation in this matter of forest administration. Unfortunately the unpleasant truths that had to be told wounded the feelings of the executive officers of the district, and they having judicial powers in their hands set to work to persecute that association, and very nearly succeeded in bringing its leading members into a disastrous prosecution. But I need not dwell upon these matters; such cases are occurring in one province or another daily: there is not, I venture to say, a single delegate here present who could not, from his own personal knowledge, give similar instances of the untoward results of the present objectionable system, and it is really, therefore, useless for me to say more in favour of a resolution, which solely aims at superseding that system by a better and more rational one." (*Loud cheers.*)

MUNSHI KASHI PERSHAD (*Allahabad, No.* 113) said: "I think there can be no two opinions on the point that it is absolutely necessary that a separation of judicial and executive functions should take place without a moment's delay. Wherever these two functions are combined in the same individual, there is a very great probability, to say the least, of a miscarriage of justice. The same man dismisses your civil suit and then tries you criminally for making a false verification or bringing a false suit. In some provinces these functions are already to a great extent separate, and wherever such is the case, the advantage of that separation to all parties is no longer a matter of question. What we now want is that this separation should be made absolute and universal. With these observations I gladly second the resolution."

Baboo Chandi Kishore Kushari (*Calcutta, No.* 256) said: "I move as an amendment that the words at the end of the resolution 'even though this should in some provinces involve some extra expenditure' be omitted.

"We know perfectly well that it won't really cost any extra money. If six men giving only half time to each can get through two works, certainly these can be done, and better done, by allotting one work entirely to three men, who would give it their whole time and thought, and the other work to the other three who would similarly give their undivided attention to that work. It is a mere division of labour, which is supposed to cheapen not augment the cost of operations, then why put it into the head of Government to spend more money?"

The President remarked that this was really no amendment; as in fact the words proposed to be omitted only emphasized the resolution. He suggested that the motion should not be pressed and it was accordingly withdrawn.

Baboo Sriram (*Oudh, No.* 169) said: "I come from a province in which, until very lately, *all* judicial (civil as well as criminal) and executive powers were centred in the same officials, and it is only lately judicial powers in civil matters have been withdrawn from the district officers who are now only invested with judicial powers in criminal cases, and general executive powers in revenue and all other matters. Yet even now miscarriages of justice often take place in consequence of this combination of functions. I come, I may explain, from Oudh, which is what is called a non-regulation province, and I am the public prosecutor in the Judicial Commissioner's Court. Very lately several cases came up for revision in which the district officers in their executive capacities served writs of demand against revenue defaulters, and on these failing to pay up on the fixed date, these revenue officers taking advantage of their powers as magistrates, arraigned the defaulters under section 188 and in their judicial capacities fined them. Naturally when the cases came up before the highest Court the fines were remitted, but it is needless to explain that this was a poor consolation to the accused for all the expense, trouble, and waste of time to which they had been subjected by the injustice of the local officials. This is a single case. I could give many others; every one of us could give any number of similar illustrations of the defective and injurious character of the existing combination of functions. But I will allude to one more case with which you are all familiar, and I will say that, had not both judicial and executive functions centred in the same officer, the case of our universally respected friend Munshi Murlidhar would have been impossible. But I fear I am needlessly occupying your time; no rational being can doubt that the separation of the judicial and executive functions is essential if any regard is to be had either to the comfort of the people or the good name of the Government."

The resolution was then put to the assembly by the President and carried unanimously.

Rajah Rampal Singh (*Oudh, No.* 178) said: "The resolution which I am to submit for your acceptance runs as follows:—

"'That in view to the unsettled state of public affairs in Europe, and the immense assistance that the people of this country, if duly prepared therefor, is capable of rendering to Great Britain in the event of any serious complications arising, this Congress do earnestly appeal to the Government to authorise (under such rules and restrictions as may to it seem fitting) a system of Volunteering for the Indian inhabitants of the country, such as may qualify them to support the Government, effectively, in any crisis.' (*Resolution XII of Summary, page* 45.) (*Loud and prolonged cheering.*)

"But I really doubt whether there is sufficient time for the discussion of this important resolution, and if I might be allowed to propose such a thing I would suggest that we should adjourn to-day and resume the discussion to-morrow."

The President took the sense of the meeting, and then announced that it was the general desire that the discussion of the question should be proceeded with.

Rajah Rampal Singh then said: "The spirit of this meeting has been so uniformly loyal and conciliatory that I hope no one will blame us if we now proceed to deal with a matter, in regard to which, we are distinctly at variance with Government. Every one knows that, for a variety of reasons, the whole country is of opinion that native Volunteer Corps ought to be organized. Every one knows that the entire country memoralized and endeavoured to move Government in this matter, and every one further knows that, to our great regret and disappointment, the Government, and that not over-graciously, distinctly refused to pay any attention to the unanimous voice of the country. None the less, however, do we now feel it our duty to reiterate those representations—representations which are based on a consideration of the highest interests of Great Britain as well as India.

"We are deeply grateful to Government for all the good that it has done us, but we cannot be grateful to it when it is, no matter with what best of intentions, doing us a terrible and irreparable injury. (*Loud cheers.*)

"We are grateful to it for the peace and order which it has diffused over the land (*cheers*); for the education that it has so nobly and unselfishly imparted to us (*cheers*); for its promise of admitting us to every post and office in the administration for which we prove our fitness (*cheers*); for the share that it has given us in the comforts and conveniences provided by the triumphs of Western science, railways, telegraphs, telephones—we are grateful to it in a word for all the innumerable boons and blessings that it has conferred on us (*cheers*); but we cannot be grateful to it for degrading our natures, for systematically crushing out of us all martial spirit, for converting a race of soldiers and heroes into a timid flock of quill-driving sheep. (*Prolonged shouts.*) Thank God, things have not yet gone quite so far as this. There are some of us yet, everywhere, who, would be willing to draw sword, and if needful lay down our lives, for hearth and homes, aye, and for the support and maintenance of that Government to which we owe so much. (*Cheers.*) But this is what we are coming to—and when we once come to that, then I think that, despite the glories of the Pax Britannica, despite the noble intentions of Great Britain, despite all the good she may have done or tried to do us, the balance will be against her, and India will have to regret rather than rejoice that she has ever had anything to do with England. (*Hear, hear.*)

"This may be strong language, but it is the truth; nothing can ever make amends to a nation for the destruction of its national spirit, and of the capacity to defend itself and the soil from which it springs. (*Loud cheers.*)

"Nor is it only we who shall have to regret and suffer for the mistaken policy that our Government is unhappily pursuing in this matter. Look where you will around you in the world, and you will see gigantic armies and armaments. There is trouble in store for the whole civilized world, and sooner or later a tremendous military struggle will commence in which assuredly, before it terminates, Great Britain will be involved. Great Britain with all her wealth cannot put one hundred men into the field for every thousand that several Continental powers can. England herself is isolated, and by her insular position to a certain extent protected, but no friendly sea rolls between Europe and Asia, the landward path to India is known and open; India is not isolated, and it will be India, on whose possession half Great Britain's wealth and status depends, that will be the scene of any serious attack by any Continental powers on Great Britain. (*Hear hear.*)

"Then will England regret that, instead of having millions of brave Indians trained to arms to fling back invaders she has only her scanty legions to oppose to them, and from her timid subjects can only look at most for good wishes—good wishes, truly good things in their way, but poor bulwarks against Berdan rifles and steel ordnance. (*Hear, hear.*)

"But on our own accounts we deprecate the existing policy. High and low we are losing all knowledge of the use of arms, and with this that spirit of self-reliance which enables a man to dare, which makes men brave, which makes them worthy of the name of men. (*Loud cheers.*) When I was only five years of age my grandfather made me begin to learn all physical exercises in vogue amongst us, and I was trained to the use of all arms and in all martial exercises. (*Cheers.*) But what man now sends his son for such training? What young man now-a-days knows anything of these things? Fifty years ago, without desiring warfare, every young man's heart glowed within him at the thought of some day showing his prowess in a fair field. Now most young men would, I fear, contemplate any such possible contingency with very, let me say, mixed feelings. If men are to be fit for soldiers, fit to fight to any purpose when the time of trial comes, and come it must for every country, then they must be trained in the use of arms, they must from their childhood see their parents, their elders, using arms and participating in those martial exercises which only 35 years ago, in Oudh at least, were part of every gentleman's occupation.

"And there is another very important point—India is practically being impoverished, to a great extent, by the enormous expense of her standing army. Sooner or later the crushing weight of this (for her resources) enormous expenditure will break down either the country or the Government. Now by a judicious encouragement of Indian Volunteers, it would be possible to reduce very greatly this military expenditure, and yet leave the country far stronger for defensive purposes than it now is. (*Prolonged cheering.*)

"But I might go on for hours. I might dwell on the fact that in the way the Arms Act is now worked in many localities, the people, their herds, their crops are wholly at the mercy of wild beasts. I might dwell on the insult, the injustice, the violation of the most sacred and solemn pledges by England to India, that are involved in the rules that permit Indian Christians but do not permit Indian Hindus or Mahomedans to volunteer. (*Loud cheers.*) But I have said enough, and indeed being, as we are, all of one mind, too much already I fear on this subject in which I am deeply interested, I will only now add that we do not ask Government to put arms blindly into all men's hands, but only to permit under such rules and restrictions as it sees fit, the better and more educated classes of its loyal Indian subjects to qualify themselves to defend, when occasion may require, their homes, their country and their Government." (*Enthusiastic cheers.*)

MR. R. D. MEHTA (*Calcutta, No.* 272) said: "This resolution is so unanimously acquiesced in, and has been so eloquently expounded by Rajah Rampal Singh, that it needs no words of recommendation from me. I may, therefore, content myself with saying, and that from the bottom of my heart, that I not only second this resolution, but on your behalf, and on behalf of my own community, venture to assert that we are all loyal to the core (*cheers*); and that if the Government will try us and prove us, make us volunteers and try to curtail their military expenditure, they will never regret it, but will find in us always good men and true, ready to assist in times of peace, in maintaining civil order and upholding their authority, and in times of war willing to stand by them to the last." (*Loud cheers.*)

THE PRESIDENT said: "Unless any one is opposed in any way to this resolution, I think that it might be put to the vote without further discussion. The fact is, this is just one of those few questions in regard to which no difference of opinion exists, throughout the whole of India, and we need not say one single word more on the subject."

The resolution was then put to the vote amidst prolonged cheering and carried by acclamation.

The Congress then adjourned until the next day.

FOURTH DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Thursday, 30th December, 1886,

AT THE TOWN HALL.

THE PRESIDENT said: "Gentlemen,—Before we commence our proceedings I wish to say a few words on one subject. I have received several proposals for the introduction of new subjects for discussion. I think it would be very embarrassing, as well as be bad in principle, to spring upon the Congress new subjects for which the majority of our delegates are not prepared. I therefore appeal to those gentlemen from whom those proposals have originated not to insist on them, but to reflect that to do so would be unjust to the majority of the delegates, embarrassing to the Congress as a whole, and likely to create a bad precedent and a deal of confusion. So far as my experience goes, I do not think that in any Congress the programme which has once been settled is materially departed from except with the unanimous consent of all the delegates. I shall not, therefore, I think, be able to allow any entirely new subject to be brought forward, unless such prove to be the unanimous wish in any case of the entire meeting."

Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee (*Calcutta, No.* 239) said: "Mr. President, bowing to your ruling as to entirely new subjects, I yet venture to enquire whether it would be possible for you to allow me to call attention to the operation of the Assam Emigration Act, considering that I duly gave notice of my intention to raise this question."

The President said: "I fear that I cannot allow this; the notice you refer to was only given at a very late stage of the proceedings, and many delegates I find are of opinion that this is rather a question for discussion in the Bengal Provincial Congress than in this present National Assemblage. I would therefore ask you to drop that subject and kindly put before the Congress the Report of the Committee on the Public Service Question."

Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee (*Calcutta, No.* 239) said: "It will be remembered that at a previous meeting a motion was carried at my instance appointing a Committee for the purpose of submitting a report on the questions which the Public Service Commission have prepared. The Committee met yesterday, and I hold in my hand the report of the Committee. We have not been able to answer the 184 questions which were originally propounded by the Commission, nor even the reduced number which they subsequently issued. But we have been able to formulate certain general principles which, we believe, cover almost the entire ground in regard to which the Commission have been putting forward these questions; and the report, except in one unimportant detail, is a perfectly unanimous report. I will therefore, with the leave of the Congress, read the Report:—

REPORT.

We, the Members of the Committee appointed by the Congress to submit a statement in connection with the Public Service Question, have the honor to report that the following resolutions were unanimously adopted by us at a meeting held yesterday:—

1. That the open Competitive Examination be held simultaneously both in India and in England.
2. That the simultaneous examinations thus held be equally open to all classes of Her Majesty's subjects.
3. That the classified list be prepared according to merit.
4. That the Congress express the hope that the Civil Service Commissioners will give fair consideration to Sanskrit and Arabic among the subjects of examination.
5. That the age of candidates eligible for admission to the open Competitive Examination be not less than 19, or, as recommended by Sir C. Aitchison, more than 23 years.
6. That simultaneous examinations being granted, the Statutory Civil Service be closed for first appointments.
7. That the appointments in the Statutory Civil Service, under the existing rules, be still left open to the members of the Uncovenanted Service and to professional men of proved merit and ability.
8. That all appointments requiring educational qualifications, other than covenanted first appointments, be filled by Competitive Examinations held in the different provinces, and open in each province to such natural-born subjects of H. M. only as are residents thereof.

These resolutions, it is hoped, cover the main principles which underlie the questions set by the Public Service Commission. For a more detailed consideration there was no time.

(Sd.) DADABHAI NAOROJI,
President of the Committee.

30th December, 1886.

"On behalf of the Committee which has been appointed by this Congress, I now venture to move that this Congress approves and adopts the report submitted by the Committee appointed by Resolution VI." (*Resolution VII of Summary, page 44.*)

The Hon'ble S. Subramania Iyer (*Madras, No.* 2) said: "I beg to second the motion."

The President said: "I hope, having regard to the confidence which the Congress was pleased to place in the Committee, and the careful consideration which has been bestowed by the Committee (most of the members of which were already familiar with the subject) on each of those several points with which they found time to deal, that no discussion by way merely of affirming the report will be considered necessary. If any gentleman specially desires to make any remarks he can of course do so, or if any delegate desires to express his dissent from anything embodied in the Committee's report, we shall, I am sure, all gladly hear him; but if we are all agreed, and if it be the unanimous opinion that the report should be adopted, I will put Mr. Banerjee's motion and pass on to other work."

Baboo Ambica Charan Mazumdar (*Furreedpore, No.* 316) said: "What has been done with regard to the question of going to England for a certain term after having passed the examination in this country? Is it proposed to make this compulsory or not?"

The President said: "This is a difficult question, and the Committee had no time to discuss it fully and conclusively, and they therefore recorded no opinion in regard to it. We did our best, but in the limited time at our disposal necessarily left some points untouched."

Dr. Annada Charan Kastagiri (*Chittagong, No.* 389) said: "Perhaps gentlemen you are aware that Chittagong, whence I come as a delegate, is a Mahomedan district, and that three-fourths of the people there are Mahomedans. A meeting which was held there was well attended by Mahomedans, and they appointed four delegates, two Mahomedans and two Hindus, and of the two Hindus I am one. We all duly reached Calcutta. The two Mahomedans purposed to attend the Congress with me, and it was arranged that I should give them a lift in my carriage. That was before the Congress met. On the following day they did not join me. The next morning they came to me and said that, although they were desirous of attending, pressure which, from their circumstances, they could not resist, had been put on them to prevent their so doing by certain influential gentlemen of their own persuasion whose names I will not mention. I say this now to explain to you all here, as I shall have to explain later to our constituents, how and why Chittagong is so imperfectly represented. With regard to the subject before the Congress, the meeting held at Chittagong specifically instructed us to press one particular point on the attention of the Congress, and I trust you will bear with me while I carry out my instructions. They said that when the Marquis of Wellesley was in India in 1801, there was an institution called the Fort William College in which all gentlemen appointed to fill vacancies in the Civil Service were educated, and it was not until after they had spent at least two years in this College that they were sent into the country to administer justice. That College only remained in existence for a few years; it was abolished and replaced by Haileybury College; the Fort William College of later days had nothing to do with that College. Sir Charles Metcalfe was brought up in that College, and the success with which he, and others similarly trained, administered the several departments of which they had charge, seems to show that the system was a good one, and they desire to suggest that as Indian civilians appointed in India ought to pass their period of probation in England, so English civilians, appointed in England, might advantageously pass a time of probation in India and there learn, in a way they never do now, the language, manners, and customs of the country, before having any official duties thrust upon them, and our Chittagong people consider that thus alone can Europeans become really successful administrators. The Chittagong Association desires that all the Europeans appointed to any branch of the civil administration, whether in England or in India, should pass a probationary period in India so as to learn the customs and habits and manners of the people before they are invested with any authority. I therefore suggest that some provision giving effect to these views be added to the report."

The President said: "This is one among several other points which, as I have already explained, the Committee have had no sufficient time to examine closely and consider. There is no time now to go back upon points which they have been compelled to leave untouched. The question before the meeting is either to adopt or reject the Committee's report, or to discuss in view to its modification any particular points mentioned in it. The suggestion which has just been made is a very good one. It was discussed at great length in 1853 when the revision of the Charter was being considered, and certain conclusions were come to, but that is not a subject which can now be discussed."

Baboo Dwarkanath Ganguli (*Calcutta, No.* 253) said: "I will make one suggestion. We know that our Mahomedan friends, so far as Bengal is concerned, are not duly represented. So in justice to them I wish to point out that the report should state that a certain proportion of the appointments should be reserved for Mahomedans who are qualified."

The President remarked that this question was considered very carefully, and the third of the Committee's conclusions showed the Committee's views; neither for Indians in general, nor for Mahomedans in particular, was it deemed expedient to reserve any appointments. The interests of the country demanded that the best men should get the appointments irrespective of nationality, caste or creed.

The resolution was then put to the vote and carried unanimously.

Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee (*Calcutta, No.* 239) then rose and said: "The resolution that has been confided to my charge is a rather lengthy one, and I will, with your permission, read it through to you before offering any remarks in regard to its subject. The resolution runs as follows:—

"'That this Congress is of opinion that, in giving practical effect to this essential reform, regard should be had (subject to such modifications as, on a more detailed examination of the question, may commend themselves to the Government) to the principles embodied in the following tentative suggestions:—

(1.)—The number of persons composing the Legislative Councils, both Provincial and of the Governor-General, to be materially increased. Not less than one-half the Members of such enlarged Councils to be elected. Not more than one-fourth to be officials having seats *ex-officio* in such Councils, and not more than one-fourth to be Members, official or non-official, nominated by Government.

(2.)—The right to elect Members to the Provincial Councils to be conferred only on those classes and members of the community *primâ facie* capable of exercising it wisely and independently. In Bengal and Bombay the Councillors may be elected by the Members of Municipalities, District Boards, Chambers of Commerce and the Universities, or an electorate may be constituted of all persons possessing such qualifications, educational and pecuniary, as may be deemed necessary. In Madras, the Councillors may be elected either by District Boards, Municipalities, Chambers of Commerce and the University, or by Electoral Colleges composed of Members partly elected by these bodies and partly nominated by Government. In the North-West Provinces and Oudh and in the Punjab, Councillors may be elected by an Electoral College composed of Members elected by Municipal and District Boards and nominated, to an extent not exceeding one-sixth of the total number, by Government, it being understood that the same elective system now in force where Municipal Boards are concerned will be applied to District Boards, and the right of electing Members to these latter extended to the cultivating class. But whatever system be adopted (and the details must be worked out separately for each province) care must be taken that all sections of the community, and all great interests, are adequately represented.

(3.)—The elected Members of the Council of the Governor-General for making Laws to be elected by the elected Members of the several Provincial Councils.

(4.)—No elected or nominated Member of any Council to receive any salary or remuneration in virtue of such membership, but any such Member, already in receipt of any Government salary or allowance, to continue to draw the same, unchanged, during membership, and all Members to be entitled to be reimbursed any expenses incurred in travelling in connection with their membership.

(5.)—All persons, resident in India, to be eligible for seats in Council, whether as electees or nominees, without distinction of race, creed, caste or colour.

(6.)—All legislative measures and all financial questions, including all budgets, whether these involve new or enhanced taxation or not, to be necessarily submitted to and dealt with by these Councils. In the case of all other branches of the administration, any Member to be at liberty, after due notice, to put any question he sees fit to the *ex-officio* Members (or such one of these as may be specially charged with the supervision of the particular branch concerned) and to be entitled (except as hereinafter provided) to receive a reply to his question, together with copies of any papers requisite for the thorough comprehension of the subject, and on this reply the Council to be at liberty to consider and discuss the question and record thereon such resolution as may appear fitting to the majority. Provided that, if the subject in regard to which the inquiry is made involves matters of Foreign policy, Military dispositions or strategy, or is otherwise of such a nature that, in the opinion of the Executive, the Public interests would be materially imperilled by the communication of the information asked for, it shall be competent for them to instruct the *ex-officio* Members, or one of them, to reply accordingly, and decline to furnish the information asked for.

(7.)—The Executive Government shall possess the power of overruling the decision arrived at by the majority of the Council, in every case in which, in its opinion, the public interests would suffer by the acceptance of such decision; but whenever this power is exercised, a full exposition of the grounds on which this has been considered necessary shall be published within one month, and in the case of local Governments they shall report the circumstances and explain their action to the Government of India, and in the case of this latter, it shall report and explain to the Secretary of State; and in any such case on a representation made through the Government of India and the Secretary of State by the overruled majority, it shall be competent to the Standing Committee of the House of Commons (recommended in

> the 3rd Resolution of last year's Congress which this present Congress has affirmed) to consider the matter, and call for any and all papers, or information, and hear any persons on behalf of such majority or otherwise, and thereafter, if needful, report thereon to the full House. (*Resolution IV of Summary, page 41.*)

"Gentlemen, I should have preferred if somebody else—some one unconnected with our province—had been entrusted with the duty of proposing this resolution. We, the people of Bengal, occupy a peculiar position with reference to this Congress. We have invited the rest of India—the culture, the intelligence and the public spirit of this great Empire—to our city and to this great conference for the discussion of public questions. We are the hosts and you are our guests, and as hosts it best befits us to restrain our tongues and (standing by while you speak) to listen to the words of wisdom—the collective wisdom of united India—that may fall from your lips. (*Cheers.*) The scene of to-day and the scenes which we have been witnessing for the last two days (pardon me for the digression) remind me of those spectacles in ancient India when the lord of Aryavarta would summon his feudatory chiefs to his capital to celebrate the most imposing of Aryan rites—the Rajsuya Jagya. But those were gatherings of princes, not the gatherings of peoples. (*Cheers.*) Here we have before us personified the incarnate majesty of the nation. (*Cheers.*) What visions of glory, what prospects of rapturous joy unfold themselves before the imagination of the poet, the historian and the philosopher. I will not indulge in them. I will not allow myself to be carried away by the inspiration of the moment. But this I will say—I may be permitted to indulge in this hope—that this feeling of sympathy and brotherhood between the different Indian races may grow and deepen, that it may draw together the most distant parts of the Empire and bind all races, all creeds, and all nationalities that inhabit this great country, in one golden chain of brotherly love and affection. (*Cheers.*) But there is another reason why I should have preferred that some one, not a native of Bengal, had taken up this resolution. Whatever agitation takes place, whatever wave of national feeling surges from one part of the country to the other, whatever upheaval of the national mind is observable, manifesting itself in great and imposing popular demonstrations, is ascribed to the instrumentality of the people of Bengal. (*Cheers and laughter.*) But I am unwilling that Bengal should take the credit, or the discredit, as it may seem to some, of having originated the agitation in connection with this movement. The truth is that all India, with all her races and creeds, is united in making this one common, universal prayer for the introduction of representative Government. (*Cheers.*)

"Self-government is the ordering of nature, the will of Divine Providence. Every nation must be the arbiter of its own destinies—such is the omnipotent fiat inscribed by Nature with her own hands and in her own eternal book. But do we govern ourselves? The answer is no. Are we then living in an unnatural state? Yes, in the same state in which the patient lives under the ministrations of the physician." We are passing through a period of probation and a period of trial under the auspices of one of the most freedom-loving nations in the world. And we claim that the period of probation may now fairly terminate, that the leading-strings may be taken off, and the child having emerged into the dawn of mature manhood may at any rate be partially entrusted with the management of his own affairs. (*Loud cheers.*) If it were otherwise, the circumstance would imply the gravest slur upon the character of British rule in India; for it would mean that after more than a century of British rule and of English education, we are still unfit to appreciate the principles and to practise the art of self-government. (*Cheers.*) But I have no fears on this score. In our own province, local self-government has been remarkably successful. We have it on the highest authority; for no less a personage than His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor has declared that in Bengal local self-government has on the whole been a success; and I am quite sure similar testimony would be forthcoming in reference to the other provinces of India. It would indeed be a marvel if it were otherwise. Our Punchayet system is as old as the hills and is graven on the hearts and the instincts of the people. Self-government is therefore nothing new to the habits or the ways of thought of the people of India. (*Cheers.*)

"The resolution with which I am entrusted follows as a matter of course from the third resolution which you have already adopted. Having affirmed that the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils has become necessary alike in the interests of the people of India and for the honor of English rule, it becomes necessary for us to determine how the reform should be carried out—what are the lines which should be followed—what are to be the principles upon which it should be based? It will not do to appear before Government, to quote the expressive language of my friend opposite, as the Great Mr. Blank. We must make it clear that we are not mere talkers, that we are not mere brawlers and charlatans, but that we have devoted some of the most precious moments of our lifetime, moments of anxious thought and of patient consideration, to the solution of this great problem. Our proposals may be rejected. We put them forward as only tentative suggestions. But that is no concern of ours. The responsibility lies with the Government. And at the very threshold of the enquiry, I desire to remove a difficulty which some may feel in connection with this resolution. To some, it may appear that we are entering too much into details. But I am prepared to show, and I hope to be able to make it clear as I proceed, that we are dealing with broad general principles, and that the details, such as they may appear to the superficial observer, are necessary to the elucidation of the principles involved. They may be said to form part and parcel of an integral structure, every stone of which has been laid with the utmost care and precision. The principles which may be said to underlie the resolution are these: We desire that a fair proportion of the members of the reconstituted Councils should be elected. We have not the remotest idea that the Government should vacate its position in favour of our worthy president and his following. We do not desire that our rulers "should mount guard while we handled the monies." Yesterday we passed a resolution in favour of our mounting guard, if the Government would let us do so, by enrolling us as volunteers. It is not indeed a question of the abdication of the Government. It is much more a question of the association of the people, in a partial and modified form, in the government of the country.

"Having decided that a proportion of the members should be elected, the next question we have to consider is—how are they to be elected—what are to be the constituencies? We say the members are to be elected by local bodies, Chambers of Commerce, Trades' Associations, Universities and other similar bodies of established repute. I can however conceive of a possible objection to this scheme, and I am anxious to meet this objection before I proceed further. It may be said that our local bodies are untried, and that the elective Municipalities were created only the other day. But the Municipalities in Bengal, in one form or other, have now been in existence and have had a trial for nearly a quarter of a century; and the District Boards of to-day are the Road Cess Committees which were established about the year 1871. This objection must therefore fall to the ground. But admitting that the local bodies are untried, admitting the force of the objection which has been raised, we reply that we pin our faith upon no particular system, no creed, no dogma. Representation is our motto, our watch-word, our battle-cry, the gospel of our political redemption. (*Cheers.*) We give the Government a *carte blanche*. We tell them that if our programme does not please them, let them devise any system of their own—let it be a system of direct representation or any other form or system which may please them best. But we say at the same time—mark the moderation of our views—that whatever may be your scheme of representative government, the interests of all classes of the community, Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsees, Sikhs, Eurasians, of all races and of all creeds, should be adequately cared for. We desire to exclude none. All are alike welcome to the holiest of holies—the temple of representative government. We do not desire that the majority should swamp the minority, or that any particular class should have any preponderance, except such as may belong to superior devotion, courage and self-sacrifice. These are the qualities which have governed humanity in the past; and they will continue to govern the representative institutions of New India. (*Loud cheers.*)

"Such being the constitution of our Councils, the next question which we have to consider is—what are to be their powers and functions? These powers are to be of a limited character. They are not such as will displace or supersede the authority of the Executive Government; on the contrary, their exercise will be a source of material help to the Government. In the first place, the Councils should have the right of interpellation; secondly, they should be vested with some power of control over the finances. The right of interpellation would be an advantage to the Government as it would be an advantage to the people. It is a constant complaint, which we hear repeated on all sides, that there are frequent misinterpretations and misconceptions of the motives and objects of the Government in the Public Press. Now if this is so, explanations with regard to the policy and the conduct of the Government made by official members from their place in Council, and upon their personal responsibility, would be received with implicit confidence and would go far to remove the misconceptions from which, under existing circumstances, the Government no doubt must occasionally suffer. From this point of view the right of interpellation would be an immense gain to the Government. It would likewise be the safeguard of popular liberty. It is a right which if carefully exercised will enable the popular representatives to bring many an erratic magistrate to book. In the worst days of imperial rule in France, Louis Napoleon deprived the Legislative Chamber of this important right, lest it should be a source of embarrassment to his Government.

"With reference to the control over finance, with which we suggest that the Councils should be invested, the present rule is that the Budget must be laid before the Supreme Council only when new taxes have to be levied. We advocate a further extension, and upon the same lines, of this concession which has already been made. We propose that whether the Budget concerns the Province or the Empire, whether a new tax has to be levied or not, in all cases and under all circumstances, the Budget should be laid before the Council—Provincial or Imperial—that those who pay the taxes may have some voice in the expenditure.

"Such is to be the constitution of the Councils—such are to be the powers with which they should be vested. But are the Councils to be left in the unfettered exercise of these powers? Is the Government to abdicate all powers in favour of the President and his followers? Not at all. Mark how moderate our demands are. We propose that the Government should have the right of vetoing the decisions of the Council. If any measure passed by the Council seems inconsistent with the public interests, the Government may disallow it, stating of course its reasons within a reasonable limit of time, the power of appeal in such cases being vested in a standing committee of the House of Commons. Some may say—why introduce this question—why talk about this right of veto at all? I think it would be wise on our part to do so. You may depend upon it that the Government will reserve to itself some power of control over bodies which are thus reconstituted and invested with these new powers. You are familiar with the sections relating to control in your Local Self-Government Acts, and you may be sure that when the experiment of self-government is carried to a higher stage, a similar power will be reserved by the Government. Such being the case, it seems to me that it would be as wise as it would be moderate to suggest from our point of view what the nature of the control should be.

"Such are the principles which underlie the scheme which has been tentatively suggested. But whether this or any other scheme is adopted, I trust we shall continue to press upon the Government, in season and out of season, that the time has come when, alike in the interests of the people and for the honor of English rule, the representative element should be recognised in the Government of the country. I have a profound faith in the ultimate success of our cause. Faith can remove mountains were the memorable words uttered eighteen hundred years ago by the illustrious founder of Christianity. If we are true to ourselves, and if we have faith and patience, the victory will assuredly be ours. I have abundant confidence in the justice and generosity of the English people. Britain, the august mother of free nations, cannot refuse to us a boon which is in such entire accord with her own traditions and the instincts of her great people. But I have yet an appeal to make to the assembled representatives of all India. We should begin the agitation at once. The struggle must now commence. We are on the threshold of a new age. We are witnessing a new birth. The darkness of midnight has disappeared; and the faint grey streaks of dawn are distinctly visible in the distant horizon. Grave and solemn are our responsibilities; and I hope and trust that the voice which has been raised in this hall will be re-echoed in every town, in every district, and in every province, and will be wafted across seas and mountains and deserts to the footsteps of that throne, from whose beneficence and justice and liberality we anticipate the fulfilment of our hopes and the redemption of our people."

MR. N. G. CHANDAVARKAR (*Bombay, No.* 49), in seconding the resolution, said: "Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—In rising to second this resolution I confess I feel a certain amount of difficulty. Considering the vast importance of the subject—and, if I may be permitted to say so, next to the question of religious and social reform there is no other subject to which I attach greater importance—considering, I say, the vast importance of the subject and that the time allowed to every speaker in this assembly is very limited, I am afraid I shall not be able to do that justice to it which its nature demands. I hope, however, I shall receive indulgent treatment at your hands, as I propose to lay before you certain facts which seem to me to deserve your careful attention in connection with this demand for representative government. I propose to show by means of those facts that this demand of ours is based not on mere sentiment, and that it is due to ourselves and the Government we live under that, having affirmed at the last Congress the principle of representation, we should go one stage further and point out that the principle is capable of being worked out in practice. I am aware that our hostile critics are finding fault with the scheme now placed before you for your approval. But recent events encourage me in thinking that these critics will gradually come round. They are in fact already coming round. One of them has admitted that India is poor; and only the other day you passed a resolution declaring the poverty of India to be an evil which required to be remedied. Another, who would not admit last year that the Congress represented any one but those who took part in its debates, has come round this year so far as to say that the present Congress is a Hindu Congress, which, I take it, means, according to the critic, that it represents at all events the Hindus. Next year I doubt not our critic will, if he goes on improving at this rate, feel the force of facts so strong that he will admit the Congress to be national. (*Cheers.*)

"Now, coming to the subject before us, the line I propose following is shortly this:—

"*Firstly*—I shall answer the objection that the political soil of India is not congenial to the growth of representative institutions.

"*Secondly*—I shall go on to show that the British Government in India is founded on the principle of representation.

"*Thirdly*—I shall point out why I venture to think that the time has come for an expansion of that principle.

"*Fourthly*—I shall lay before you schemes of representative government suggested (before the present Congress was even thought of) by experienced Anglo-Indian administrators and writers.

"*Lastly*—I shall wind up with a few observations on the scheme which has just been submitted for your consideration.

"Let us take the first of the five points I have indicated above. We now and then hear it said that the people of India are not fit for representative institutions—that India is not England, and that it would not do to introduce here systems of Government which have worked well in a self-governing country like Great Britain. Let us examine this statement by the light of history. History tells us that India was, down to a recent period, known for her village municipalities and *punchayets*, both based and worked on the elective principle. We have it on the authority of an eminent Anglo-Indian writer that these institutions 'exercised a great and beneficial influence over the people.' I am quoting these words from Mr. Greig's Life of Sir Thomas Munro. Well I shall cite another authority. I daresay you have heard the name of Sir John Malcolm. Now, his testimony is important, because he was both a soldier and statesman—one, of whom, borrowing the language of Lord Rosebery, I might say, that he knew both how to conquer and maintain an empire. His testimony is also valuable for another reason, *namely*, that he has distinctly declared that as India was conquered by the English with the assistance of the natives, it can be maintained with their assistance alone. To quote his own words: 'We could never have conquered India without the assistance of the natives of the country, and by them alone can we preserve it. Our actual condition makes this necessity more imperative.' Now Sir John, speaking of the *punchayet* system as it prevailed in India, says: 'A recent instance occurred of a respected president of a *punchayet* determining, from his sense of an unjust measure, to leave a town; and between two or three hundred of its wealthiest citizens so decidedly followed his example that oppression was stopped in its career and compelled to conciliate, by concession, an offended judge.' And this occurred in Sir John Malcolm's time—not very long ago. Then, again, some one has said that 'the East is the parent of municipalities,' and I have seen cited in illustration of that saying the following fact. When, on the conquest of the Twenty-four Pergunnahs, the old municipal system was abolished great calamities befel that country, so much so that Mr. Butterworth Bayley, then in charge of the district, had to restore the old system, and trust to the people themselves. The consequence of this revival of the municipal system has been stated in an official paper to have been that in nine months the crime sheet presented a blank. I shall adduce one more authority in support of the view I am now presenting for your consideration. Sir Bartle Frere, you all know, was an experienced Anglo-Indian administrator. He was by no means inclined to be partial to the natives of this country. His testimony, must therefore, carry some weight with those who cry from the house-tops that India is not, and can never be, fit for representative institutions. Sir Bartle read a paper in 1871 at a meeting of the East India Association in London on 'Public Opinion in India,' and here is what he said on the occasion: 'Any one who has watched the working of Indian society will see that its genius is one to represent, not merely by election under Reform Acts, but represent generally by provisions, every class of the community, and when there is any difficulty respectively any matter to be laid before Government, it should be discussed among themselves. When there is any fellow-citizen to be rewarded or punished, there is always a caste meeting, and this is an expression, it seems to me, of the genius of the people, as it was of the old Saxons, to gather together in assemblies of different tribes to vote by tribes or hundreds.' I think all these are clear authorities and expressions of opinion in support of the view that the Indian soil is congenial to the growth of representative institutions—that, in other words, the genius of the Indian people is of a representative character, and under proper guidance and with proper encouragement that genius is capable of gradual development. (*Loud cheers.*)

"But then, it is said, if representative institutions be conceded to India, the concession will be inconsistent with the principles on which the British rule in this country is founded. That is, those who are opposed to the grant of a representative form of government to India are known to argue that the British Government is a despotism—a despotism, which is tempered by justice but is nevertheless a despotism, that, in the interests of good government in this country, does, as it ought to do, everything for the people instead of having it done by the people. I seriously join issue with those who maintain this view, which I now propose to show is based on a total disregard of the history of the growth of the British Government in India. Mr. Bosworth Smith, in his excellent biography of the late Lord Lawrence, has told us that the ideal set before themselves by the two Lawrences when they were placed in charge of the Punjab was this—to have everything done by the people. 'The English Magistrate was naturally the moving spirit in each city, but associated with him there was to be a Town Council elected by the natives from their own body.' And that, I say, may be regarded as the ideal set before it by the British Government. If that Government were a despotism, having nothing to do with the principle of representation, how happens it that you cannot be taxed unless the Legislature has passed a law sanctioning the tax sought to be imposed on you? And as to the Legislature itself, mark this fact. Men who are nominated its members are selected not as nominees of the Government but true *representatives of the people*. It is true that the people do not select them; the members are nominated, not elected. But that makes no difference, so far as the principle is concerned. The difference only lies in the practical application of the principle, which is that no act shall be done by any public officer unless the Legislature has sanctioned it. Here you see the *germs* of representation. Note again this. Before a law is passed, it is published as a bill for public information and translated into the vernaculars. This further shows that our Legislative Councils, without which no act of any officer would be legal, are founded upon the principle of representation. It does not matter for the purposes of my present point that the laws are often passed in utter disregard of public opinion. We are not concerned with the practice now, for practice grows slowly out of principle, and it is, therefore, that I ask you to look at the principle only and to say whether the basis of the Government is not one of representation. Indeed, even looking to the practice, I may say that on several occasions the Secretary of State has refused to sanction Acts passed by the Indian Legislature on the ground that the people had not been consulted in the matter. For instance, when the Viceroy's Legislative Council had before it in 1873 the Punjab Canals Bill, the Punjab Government objected to its provisions on the ground that they were 'unfair to the agricultural interest, which is not consulted in the making of the canal, and ought not, therefore, to be saddled with its cost.' And the Secretary of State vetoed the measure on that very ground. Mark again what occurred immediately on the introduction of the Legislative Councils system into India in 1861. Sir George Clerk was then Governor of Bombay, and he inaugurated the opening ceremony of the Bombay Legislative Council on the 22nd January, 1862, by addressing the nominated members, among whom were several native gentlemen, in these memorable words: 'You will remember that you owe to those whom you represent a strict account of the fulfilment of your duties—to a people who reasonably desire your protection of their acknowledged rights to live in peace.'

"'An assembly on this scale has naturally a tendency to expand, and seeing it has pleased Her Majesty's Government to consider that the time has arrived for conferring this privilege on you, it will doubtless in due time be enlarged.'

"Now, these are very important words—important, because they were addressed on a memorable occasion by a responsible representative of Her Majesty. They conveyed a sacred promise. They make two things clear—one, that members were appointed to the Council as popular representatives; the other, that in due time the principle on which the Council was founded would be gradually expanded. And it is this expansion we now ask for in putting forward the scheme embodied in the resolution before you. (*Cheers.*)

"This brings me to my third point, which is this—has the time come for such an expansion? Or rather, where is the necessity of asking Government to reconstitute the Legislative Councils on a popular basis? The necessity, I answer, is clearly indicated by the difficulty of making the rulers understand the ruled. What the late Lord Halifax, then Sir Charles Wood, said in 1853 from his place in the House of Commons stands true of the present time. He then said: 'There is no mixture of the English population with the Native population.' 'We go, we govern, and we return.' The result is that misunderstandings frequently arise. Government contemplates a certain measure; and the people interpret its act and motive, sometimes rightly, sometimes wrongly. The Native Press no doubt speaks for the people, but its position is anomalous. It has often no means of obtaining correct information; and it is apt to misunderstand and be misunderstood. Well, if the people gather in public meetings or in a Congress like this and tell Government what the wants and grievances of the people are, they are likely to be told in return by captious critics that they do not represent the masses. In other words, these critics would allow none to be representatives of the people but the Government, and the Government is foreign and practically bureaucratic. Is it then to be wondered at that measures passed without the consent or advice of the people should often give rise to misunderstandings? Is it not necessary that such a Government as ours should seek every means of consulting the people on important questions and of taking them into its confidence? 'It is the despotic ruler who most requires to know public opinion,' wrote Sir Bartle Frere. What is the means adopted by the Government for duly ascertaining such opinion in India? The necessity of ascertaining it was pointed out by Sir Donald McLeod, formerly Lieutenant-Governor of Punjab, in his evidence before the East India Finance Committee of 1871. Asked whether he would recommend an increase of the duty on salt, he answered,—'before expressing a decided opinion, I would consult the Natives more than we do generally.' Questioned again, he said: 'I would be very cautious about expressing a definite opinion about any tax until I had had the opportunity of discussing with the Natives regarding them.' He was further asked: 'Do you think it would be unwise generally to impose any new tax or increase of existing taxes till the Natives have been consulted?' He answered: 'I think myself it is most desirable before anything is done, for we really do not know what would be the result unless we consulted them.' And yet are the people consulted in matters of taxation? Now, in quoting these answers of Sir Donald in support of the view that a system of representative government is necessary for India, Sir Bartle Frere in the paper already referred to said: 'They are the mature opinions of his (Sir Donald's) lifetime, and I think they are shared by many of those who worked with him, before him, about him, and below him.' These 'mature opinions' were expressed fifteen years ago, when public opinion was not so strong and enlightened as it now is. Now you have an intelligent class of educated Natives who occupy the position of interpreters between the rulers and ruled. That the masses on the whole accept their educated countrymen as their leaders was proved to demonstration on the eve of Lord Ripon's departure from this country, when they joined the latter in bearing their testimony to the popularity of his Lordship's Indian policy. And in every country, even in England, it is the educated classes who represent the feelings of and lead the people. It follows, I think, from what I have said and quoted that the Government should devise some means whereby the people may be enabled to express their opinions on administrative questions affecting their weal or woe.

"Dealing with my fourth point, I wish it to be clearly understood that the demand for an expansion of our Legislative Councils and for a system of representative government had been made for us by such men as Sir Bartle Frere long before the present Congress was so much as thought of. In his paper, to which I have repeatedly referred, Sir Bartle sketched out a scheme somewhat, if not exactly, similar to the one now before you. Another scheme, having the same object in view, was suggested by an able Anglo-Indian writer in the pages of the *Calcutta Review* of the year 1873. That article, which is headed 'Provincial Councils,' will amply repay perusal. A third scheme was that proposed some years ago by Mr. M. J. Shaw Stewart, lately of the Bombay Civil Service, who was for many years a District Collector and for some time Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay. I bring these schemes to your notice to show that our demand was anticipated by experienced administrators and officials, who had no reason to take an exaggerated view of either our capacities or requirements. This alone ought to serve as a refutation of the charge that we are asking for revolutionary measures in praying for an expansion of the representative principle in the case of our Legislative Councils.

"As to the scheme now submitted for your approval, I shall not say more than this, that it is merely of a suggestive character. I do not claim freedom from error for it. My own opinion is that all we are called upon to do is to prove that the time has come for expanding the principle of representation, and to show, generally, how it is capable of being expanded. In the scheme before you we have attempted to show that and that only. A perfect scheme can be formulated only after you have fully consulted both officials and non-officials. At present we do not go beyond generally indicating the lines on which the Legislative Councils may be reconstituted. Bear this in mind in determining whether you should vote for or against the scheme. And now, before concluding, let me impress upon you one circumstance. Whatever some of our captious critics may say, I am firm in the faith that as long as we are under British rule, so long the development of the representative principle is secured. That development may be and ought to be gradual. You may not have the Councils expanded as you wish to-day or to-morrow. But sooner or later the expansion must come, for the very foundation of the rule is, as I hope to have already shown, *representation*. There is a saying which I have seen oft quoted that the Englishman carries representative institutions with him wherever he goes. He took them to America, to Canada, and the Colonies. And he has brought them to India too. This was evidently in Mr. Gladstone's mind, when, in 1883, addressing the British public through the House of Commons, he said: 'You will go on;' you will be compelled to go on; and what is more, I hope, you will be inclined to go on in this noble and upright and blessed work of gradually enlarging the Indian franchise.' It is only a question of time when and how the institution is to grow. The solution of that question will depend not so much on Government as on yourselves—that is, on the people of this country. You must advance in all directions; you must be true to yourselves and show that you deserve the privileges and rights which you seek. The large numbers in which you have met at this Congress—the long distances many of you have travelled—and the sobriety and sound judgment your deliberations have shown, are in themselves promising, for they prove that you are prepared to serve your country; that its welfare occupies a prominent place in your heart; and that you have begun to see that, though speaking different languages and separated by social distinctions, your interests are identical and you must learn to be united. You have begun well, and if you go on as you have begun, depend upon it you will succeed in obtaining the boon of representative Government for your country. You have only to persevere. 'If the English,' says Sydney Smith, 'were in a paradise of spontaneous productions, they would continue to dig and plough, though there were never a peach nor a pine-apple the better for it.' You must work at these questions in this spirit of the Englishman and then success will, I assure you, be yours." (*Loud and prolonged cheering.*)

Row Sahib P. Ananda Charlu (*Madras, No 6*) said: "Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen and Brethren,—I rise to support the proposition now before you, and I am sorry that the time allowed me is ten minutes—not that it is too little, but that it is too much. I am sure you will realize my embarrassment when you remember that the two speakers who have preceded me—two of our best speakers—have done such full justice to the task they undertook (and I may add to themselves also) that they have been compelled to do me the cruel injustice of practically leaving me next to nothing to say on the main points at issue. (*Cheers.*) It is fortunate, however, that the accident of my coming from Madras enables me to say just a few words relevant to the proposal before you, which have not been already said.

"It is too much the fashion to represent the scheme of reform, which our resolution embodies, as the hasty conception of a few ardent spirits—revolutionary in its aim and radical in its character—taken in hand in a haphazard sort of way, and advocated without due reference to practical possibilities. Such an accusation is most unfounded, and most gratuitous. (*Loud cheers.*) Speaking for the presidency from which I come, I am bound to state that the subject has been regarded as one of primary importance from the very first, and this long before the National Congress became an accomplished fact. (*Cheers.*) You all know, I take it, that before even the first National Congress was held, we in Madras held two Conferences of native gentlemen from the different parts of our presidency at an interval of a twelve-month. At the first conference this subject of representative institutions was earnestly taken up and thoroughly discussed. We then laid down the main lines of a scheme for the introduction of a representative element into the Government, and decided to entrust the Mahajana Sabha with the task of maturing that scheme, and submitting it to the opinion of the ablest and most advanced thinkers—the men who might be expected to take a real and permanent interest in the subject, and to be abreast of the times. The scheme was accordingly fully elaborated, and sent round for consideration and advice as had been contemplated. Finally, it was submitted in the form of a draft memorial to the second of our conferences, and, having been, with minor modifications, accepted, it was submitted to, and is, I believe, now lying before the authorities for disposal. It is a matter of genuine and unfeigned satisfacton to us, the so-called benighted citizens of Madras, that the National Congress of both this present year and of the last should so entirely endorse our views, and single out, as we had already done, the question of the reconstitution of our Legislative Councils as one of the first importance. (*Cheers.*) The two conferences in Madras, the equally early discussions of the question in Poona, Bombay, Bengal, and finally the two National Congresses, stamp the proposal that awaits your verdict with the character of a long and carefully considered reform, universally desired, in the best interests of the people of this country. (*Loud cheers.*) Is universality of acceptance the only merit of this proposed reform? Most assuredly not. Whatever our amiable critics may say to the contrary, the system contended for is, to my thinking, one essentially practical and urgently demanded by the condition of the country. After all, dispassionately considered, what is it but the embodiment of an ancient fundamental political aphorism, in its juster, truer and nobler acceptation? What is the prayer we lay before Government? It is nothing more and nothing less than a petition to our rulers to act, in practice, on the well known advice to rulers, 'DIVIDE AND GOVERN,' not in its sinister interpretation which prompts men to set class against class, section against section, in a body politic in which perfect concord should prevail, but (as I said) in its juster, truer and nobler interpretation of dividing *with* the subjects the responsibilities and labours of the administration, and thereby establishing their rule, immutably, on the broad basis of the national concurrence. (*Loud cheers.*)

"Not only policy, however, but common justice should lead our rulers to concede our claim, and there are many who, unable to realize the policy of including us in the Government of the country, admit the theoretical justice of our claim, and yet fancy they can meet it by the statement that we cannot back our demand with the argument of force. It is simply impossible to approve the logic of such a contention; and it further implies a gross ignorance of the genius of our people, the teachings of our revered scriptures, and the traditions of our country. Our ancestors, of whom we cannot cease to be proud, their writings which we cannot forget, the traditions which have for ages dominated the national sentiments—all alike teach us to put *reason*—moral pressure—*the art of persuasion*—in the foremost place in the order of methods by which it is wise and right to endeavour to secure anything that may be desired. You are all aware of the methods, known as *Shama*, *Dana*, *Bheda* and *Danda* which mean respectively the policy of persuasion, of compromise, of breaking up the adversaries solidarity, and of resorting to force of arms. It is manifest that this is the order that sterling good sense and sturdy sentiments of justice dictate; and the people of this country will not reverse the order enjoined by this time-honored and no less solidly wise teaching and tradition. They will certainly not make any show of force—whatever force they may possess—they will certainly never resort to force until all other methods have failed. No! our countrymen will adhere to this wise counsel of trusting first to reason, despite Anglo-Indian gibes, and despite evil examples elsewhere to the contrary. I blush for those who, in the latter end of this boasted century of high civilisation, talk still as if might were right, and not right might. Let them for once banish from their minds false logic, and the unmerited apotheosis of the *animal* part of man, and let our rulers raise the worth of their sway by dividing and governing in that higher, nobler and truer sense that the ancient Aryan mind conceived, formulated, and enforced by precept and practice, for ages together." (*Prolonged cheering.*)

Molvi Syud Sharfuddin (*Behar, No.* 197) said: "Mr. President and Brother Delegates,—In rising to support this resolution I have the honor at the same time of informing you that I am a Mahomedan. I am one of the delegates from a place which has been recognized by the Government as a great centre of Mahomedan activity. On reading one of the daily papers of Calcutta I find, as has already been said by one of the speakers, that this Congress has been characterized as a Hindu Congress, but I venture to submit that this designation is erroneous, and that this assemblage constitutes not a Hindu Congress but a National Congress—it is a Congress of all nationalities. If you look to races, you have only to consider attentively the costumes of the members to discover that all Indian Aryan races are represented. If you look to religions, you will find Mahomedans, Christians, Hindus, Parsees, Sikhs, Brahmos and, I believe, small as these communities are, even one Jain and one Jew. As for my own co-religionists I find in this hall Mahomedans from almost every part of this vast Empire. I need not inform you that besides the four Mahomedan delegates from Patna, Messrs. Sayani and Chilmai from Bombay, and Syud Jawad Hosein from Rohilkhund, we have from the province of Oudh Nawab Reza Ally and Mr. Hamid Ally, Haji Mahomed Tegh Bahadur, and Sheikh Kadir Buksh; Syud Abdul Aziz from Nagpur, and Sheikh Wazir Ally from Sarun; there are also Mahomedan gentlemen from Dacca, Howrah, Rungpore, Khulna, Nuddea, Tipperah, Julpiguri, Mymensing, Benares and other places, and with all these is it possible for any one to say truly that this is merely a Hindu Congress? (*Loud cheers.*) I may also inform you, before I come to the subject before the meeting, that I have found the greatest sympathy with the objects of this Congress amongst the Mahomedans of Behar. (*Cheers*). There may be a few isolated exceptions; there may be some few gentlemen, either good conservatives of the old school who hold that whatever is, is best, or who have not been correctly informed of the objects of this Congress, and who therefore hang back; but these I can truly assure you are only the exceptions that prove the rule. (*Cheers.*) No doubt there are not so many Mahomedans here as in proportion to their numbers we might have expected, but in the first place our people are backward; and in the second place this schism of the Calcutta Mahomedan leaders was quite unexpected. I conversed yesterday with some Mahomedan gentlemen from Oudh who informed me that if they had had any knowledge of the unhappy differences which exist amongst the Mahomedans of Calcutta, leading many of these to abstain from participating in the Congress, they could have brought down any number of Mahomedans of the highest ranks, talookdars and rajahs, from Oudh, and I mention this circumstance as another evidence that this Congress is not a Hindu Congress only but a National Indian Congress, in which, broadly speaking, all the races and creeds of India are equally interested and equally sympathise. (*Loud cheers.*)

"With respect to the resolution which is now before us I need not take up much of your time, as the three gentlemen who have preceded me have already demonstrated its essential character at great length. Let me simply say that, on behalf of my brother delegates from Behar, I fully support this resolution. (*Loud cheers.*) It is almost needless to say that, as natives of India we are better versed in the manners and customs, the ideas and convictions, the wants and wishes of our people than any Englishman can be. How then can it be otherwise than reasonable that, after having been educated by the magnanimity of the people of England, we should ask from them that share in the administration of our country which they have taught us to desire and have qualified us to deserve? (*Cheers.*) They have already given us a liberal first instalment of local self-government; they have accepted the elective system in many Municipalities; everybody knows that these reforms have worked admirably in practice, and no unprejudiced person can doubt that if the principle of representation be introduced into the Legislative Councils the results will be even more conspicuously advantageous to all parties. (*Cheers.*) And is not our desire natural? We want to be legislated for by people who have a real knowledge of our habits and customs; by people who understand us, who are of us, not by foreigners and strangers, who, however good their will, lack that intimate sympathy with, and participation in, our views and aspirations which is essential if their measures are to command anything like the approval and unanimous assent of the country. (*Prolonged cheering.*) The Government has already recognised to some extent the reasonableness of our claim, and has given us grounds for hoping that they are not unwilling gradually to concede it. Everybody here remembers, during the controversy about the Bengal Tenancy Act, the laudable desire of the Government to secure some sort of representation in the Council, of both the zemindar and the ryot classes; and many other instances might be cited to show that they themselves are aware of the dangers of the present blindfold system of legislating for people of whom they know little and understand less. So that this great reform is already well within the sphere of practical politics, and all we have to do is to press, and press for it earnestly, energetically, steadily and perseveringly until we *get* it, and in getting it crown our rulers, teachers, friends and guides with new and imperishable laurels. I have heard a Roman apothegm, *Finis coronat opus,* and in no way can Great Britain more gloriously crown her noble work in India than by the introduction here of representative institutions." (*Loud and enthusiastic cheers.*)

Sheik Kadir Buksh (*Fyzabad, No.* 185) said, speaking in Urdu: "After the eloquent ches to which we have all listened with so much pride and pleasure, it may seem almost an impertinence for me, a mere merchant and, compared with so many of our distinguished fellow-countrymen that I see around me, an uneducated man, to presume to trespass on your time. But I have to say that in my province our people are quite fit for and thoroughly appreciate representative institutions. Those co-religionists of mine, and I am happy to say that their number is limited in the extreme, (*cheers*) who pretend that the introduction of a representative element in the councils will do our community no good, simply talk nonsense. I have now sat some time on an elected Municipal Board, and I wish they would ask any Mahomedan of my district how he appreciates this boon of local self-government that we already possess. We are Hindus and Mahomedans alike on our Board. Never has there been any difference between us arising out of religious feelings, and how should there be? We are not Moulvis and Pundits meeting to argue on religious topics, but business-men meeting to arrange for keeping the town clean and healthy, and for levying the funds, required for these purposes, equitably and with as little expense and worry to the rate-payers as may be. If we keep the place dirty and cholera comes, will it not kill us Mahomedans as well as the Hindus? If we get pure good water, shall we not drink it as well as they? And so it will be with the proposed elected Legislative Councils. Will it not be all our object to keep the Government out of useless wars, to make them economize, to reduce taxation, to give fair play to native talent, to encourage Indian industries? Religion is one thing and business another, and only very foolish or ill-disposed persons mix the two together and try to set any sect against a work which is equally for the good of all sects." (*Vociferous cheering.*)

MALIK BHUGWAN DAS (*Dera Ismail Khan, No.* 110), speaking in Urdu, said: "We ought really to congratulate ourselves on having brought together in one assemblage so many delegates from so many parts of the country. (*Cheers.*) It is only when one goes about amongst them, and has the pleasure of making their acquaintance and finding out who and what they are and whence they come, that one begins to understand how truly national is this meeting. (*Cheers.*) What profession or occupation, what class, what race, what creed is not represented? It is wonderful (*cheers*), and nothing in my whole life has pleased me so much as having been able to take part in this Congress, and so actually to see gentlemen living in all those wonderful distant parts whose names even I had previously scarcely heard. Certainly I thought they would be altogether different, and so their dress is, but when I come to talk to them I find they are much the same as I am; and when I speak of our grievances, I find that theirs are much the same, and when I tell them of our aspirations, why they are theirs also. Yes they may differ in dress, in mother tongue, in customs, in place of birth, but I find that in all essentials they are one with me, for they are all fellow-countrymen. (*Loud and prolonged cheers.*) And what is this I see in one of the English papers, that they call this a Hindu Congress? Why Hindu? Why not Mahomedan? Does it follow because a man is a Hindu that he does not represent Mahomedans as well as Hindus? (*Loud cheers.*) I am a Hindu, perhaps people fancy I only represent Hindus, but that is far from the case. Malik Nebraj and I are delegates from an Association composed both of Hindus and Mahomedans (*cheers*), and these Hindus and Mahomedans meeting jointly appointed us two to represent them. The Mahomedans did not say let us appoint a Mahomedan, let us not appoint a Hindu, but they said let us have the best men to represent us, and they never troubled to think whether those men belonged to this faith or that faith, because there is none of that nonsense there in these public matters; and we feel that in these we are all one, all brethren. Of course we are *not* the best men, but we were, they were kind enough to think, the best men who could conveniently come, and so they sent us. So even if there were only Hindus like us, but sent by Mahomedans, it could not be a Hindu Congress (*cheers*); but I look round and I see many Mahomedans, and I see Sikhs and I see Christians and Parsees, and I do not understand this foolishness of calling us a Hindu Congress. (*Cheers.*) Either the editor of that paper is a very ignorant man, and it is the ignorance on all Indian matters of Europeans which is doing India so much harm, and to provide against which our present resolution is partly intended, or he must be a sort of British Afghan (*loud cheers*), who to gain some end says what he knows is not a fact. But to turn to the resolution before the Congress, and I do so asking pardon for having to long detained you. I do not think that, as to the general question, the previous eloquent speakers have left me anything to say. But there are some local details to which I wish to draw your attention. The first is that this system of representation and of Government by councils composed of our own people is indigenous in the Punjab, and from time immemorial the frontier tribes, though wanting in education, have always possessed sufficient intelligence to manage matters admirably for themselves. We had regular representative legislative councils long before we had even heard the name of England, and those councils made laws, which, though not compiled in bulky statute books, were none the less binding and obeyed, and to this day the independent frontier tribes in our neighbourhood are governed by just such councils, and these councils have made laws from time to time, and if a man commit adultery or other offence he is tried by those councils and convicted and sentenced according to those laws, which the whole tribe unites to uphold, because they are home-made and commend themselves to all minds as right and just. (*Cheers.*)

"Now we people inside the frontier were never at any time behind the *Pushtunis*—I mean the frontier tribes outside the frontier—in wisdom or capacity for managing our own affairs. And if they, still ignorant and unenlightened, get on so well under representative institutions, how much better may we be expected to thrive under them, now that, by reason of the widespread, though not as yet what you call high, education which the British Government has given us, we are so much more advanced in all such matters than our *Pushtuni* neighbours.

"And as a matter of fact there is a strong desire throughout all parts of the Punjab for a local council—above all a local council largely composed of gentlemen of the province to make the laws and manage the public affairs of the province, and as there never was and never will be, as I have, on a former occasion, explained, any want of thoroughly capable men to sit in that council, I do not see why the British Government, that has done so much for us and, as we believe, where I come from, so honestly wishes to do us good, should not, in compliance with the universal desire, grant us all, that this resolution, which I support with all my heart, advocates and prays for.

"Great are the benefits that have been conferred on us by the British Government. May it prosper for ever and ever, and a third time I say ever, but that this may be so let it never forget that its real strength lies, not in its artillery, but in the hold it has, and I pray God may ever retain, on the hearts of its subjects." (*Prolonged cheering.*)

KHAJEH ABDOOL ALEEM (*Dacca, No.* 351), speaking in Urdu, said: "This gentleman comes from the far west, I from the east. I can only say that with us, as with him, Hindus and Mahomedans united to elect delegates. He is a Hindu representing Mahomedans as well as Hindus. I am a Mahomedan representing Hindus as well as Mahomedans. As my Hindu brother from the Western frontier sees no difference between Mahomedans and Hindus in questions relating to the administration of public affairs, so neither do I a Mahomedan from the east see any difference either. We are all subjects of the same Sovereign, all children of the same soil, our more important public interests are the same, our disabilities, grievances and desires identical, and in the name of the great community I came to represent, and of all the Mahomedans of Eastern Bengal I heartily support, and I know they will endorse that support, the resolution that is now before this Congress."

PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVYA (*Allahabad, No.* 118) said: "After the very able and eloquent speeches to which you have already listened, it may seem almost superfluous to add anything as to the expediency, as to the necessity, of the reform contemplated in the fourth resolution. It seems, however, necessary to show to the Government and to the public at large that it is not only by the people of a certain limited portion of the country that the principle of representative government is understood and approved, but that in every presidency and province, of this vast Indian continent, the people equally appreciate it and are equally anxious for its introduction into the administration. Delegates from Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Patna, Fyzabad, Dera Ismail Khan, Dacca, have already endorsed this fact. Let me a humble delegate from Allahabad confirm their testimony. (*Cheers.*) It is not to the great British Government that we need demonstrate the utility, the expediency, the necessity of this great reform. (*Cheers.*) It might have been necessary to support our petition for this boon with such a demonstration were we governed by some despotic monarch, jealous of the duties, but ignorant and careless of the rights of subjects; but it is surely unnecessary to say one word in support of such a cause to the British Government or the British nation—to the descendants of those brave and great men who fought and died to obtain for themselves and preserve intact for their children those very institutions which, taught by their example, we now crave *cheers*), who spent their whole lives and shed their hearts blood so freely in maintaining and developing this cherished principle. (*Loud and prolonged cheers.*)

"What is an Englishman without representative institutions? Why not an Englishman at all (*cheers*), a mere sham (*cheers*), a base imitation (*cheers*), and I often wonder as I look round at our nominally English magnates how they have the face to call themselves Englishmen and yet deny us representative institutions, and struggle to maintain despotic ones. (*Loud cheers.*) Representative institutions are as much a part of the true Briton as his language and his literature. Will any one tell me that Great Britain will, in cold blood, deny us, her free-born subjects, the first of these when, by the gift of the two latter, she has qualified us to appreciate and incited us to desire it? (*Cheers.*)

"No taxation without representation. That is the first commandment in the Englishman's Political Bible; how can he palter with his conscience and tax us here, his free and educated fellow-subjects, as if we were dumb sheep or cattle? But we are not dumb any longer. India has found a voice at last in this great Congress, and in it, and through it, we call on England to be true to her traditions, her instincts, and herself, and grant us our rights as free-born British citizens. (*Prolonged cheering.*) Representation is a thing required in every part of the world, as soon as a nation emerges from barbarism, even where rulers and ruled are one people, having one common language, domicile, religion, literature, and what not, and how much more so is it needful in this country? We know that the English people, true to their higher instincts, have introduced here so much that is good, that to them we owe many and great blessings. (*Cheers.*) We acknowledge these blessings with gratitude; we owe a heavy debt of gratitude to the English people, and there is no fear of our ever forgetting our obligations to them. (*Loud cheers.*) But while we are thus deeply grateful for the blessings we enjoy we cannot but feel that there are still many points in which our condition can be and ought to be improved, and we see first and foremost that the system of administration, that now obtains, is despotic (*loud cheers*), and is deficient in the principle of representation, the fundamental characteristic of a free government. (*Cheers.*) There is not a true-born Englishman who would not be horrified if told that the Government of India dealt with the whole people of India as slaves, and yet, if any such man will fairly face the facts of the case, he will be compelled to admit that, despite all other good gifts, in this matter of excluding us from all share in the government of our own country, the government is really treating us as more slaves. The right to be represented is inherent in every educated free-born British subject. (*Loud cheers.*) Gentlemen, we all recognize the great Proclamation of 1858 as our Magna Charta, and in that Proclamation Her Gracious Majesty was pleased to assure us solemnly that she would regard all her subjects of whatever race, creed or colour with an equal eye, and consider the welfare of all equally. Her Majesty's Indian subjects were therefore to be regarded in the same light as her subjects in any of her other colonies and possessions. But how can it be said that we are treated in the same way when we are not allowed the slightest voice in the administration (*Cheers*), when we are not allowed the opportunity of saying one word as to our sentiments in regard to the laws and edicts which year by year are flung forth over the land, and under which we have to live and suffer? (*Cheers.*) I ask you if that is regarding us with an equal eye, if that is treating us as those of the English race in other possessions of Her Majesty are treated? (*Cheers.*)

"I am sorry that time does not allow me to speak fully and freely on this great subject, but after all in the present day it is almost a waste of time to prove either the reasonable character or the justice of our claim. Every cultured mind admits this, at any rate as an abstract proposition. It is always imaginary practical difficulties, or our supposed incapacity, that is urged. But when you see Indians competing with Englishmen in every walk of life to which they can find or force an entrance, and not unfrequently emerging triumphant from the friendly contest (*loud cheers*), it is extremely inconsistent to say that they are unfitted to assist in the consideration and preparation of laws for their own people, and incapable of joining in that great work of administration, which has, or should have, for its sole object the prosperity of their native land (*cheers*); and I ask every generous English mind to say whether we have not a strong ground for complaining against this exclusion as a piece of un-English injustice. Surely it is the desire of every generous-hearted Englishman who loves liberty to confer the freedom, he himself enjoys, on all—

> "For he," as an English Poet says, "that values liberty, confines
> "His zeal for her predominance within
> "No narrow bounds; her cause engages him
> "Wherever pleaded. 'Tis the cause of man." (*Loud cheering.*)

"But our President signs that I am exceeding the allotted period, and I will only add may the cause of the people of India, the cause of liberty and right, engage the attention, heart and soul, of every honest Englishman in India and in England, and may each true Briton, who values the rights, the privileges, the freedom which have made him and his country what they are, aid us, like true Britons, to the fruition of our aspirations for equal rights, equal privileges and equal freedom." (*Loud cheers.*)

LALA KANHYA LAL (*Punjab, No.* 104) said: "The second clause of the resolution makes mention of the several provinces in which legislative councils of the reformed type should be established, but it omits to mention* the Punjab. I presume that this is an oversight, as the Punjab is, as Malik Bhugwan Das has already told you, quite prepared and fitted for such representative institutions. The amount of confidence which was placed by the people in their own representative institutions before the introduction of British rule into the Punjab is well known: the decisions pronounced by punchayets were looked upon as oracles proceeding from the deity, as the people said, *panch panch mil, khuda mil* (*cheers*), and this shows what implicit confidence was placed by the people in the decisions of their own representatives. The present system of appointing members to the Legislative Councils is by nomination: the Government nominate their own officials and sometimes other men having personal influence with leading officials and ready to vote as they are told. The officials are paid heavy salaries and have an interest in maintaining heavy taxation upon the people and keeping up all the many official abuses, and therefore, I think, I am justified in saying that the Government is not at present acting fairly by us. It may seem churlish in us to cast such an imputation upon a nation which has in the past done so much for us in the way of civilizing this country; but it is their present persistency in not giving us fair play, and not granting us that representation that we ask for, and that, as I maintain, we are entitled to, that leads us to cast such imputations upon them: if they fairly concede to us a proper system of representation our mouths will be shut for ever, and they will become, once more to us, what we used to believe them to be!"

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* This was a typographical error in one set of the printed draft resolutions.

Munshi Syud Abdul Aziz (*Nagpur, No.* 190), speaking in Urdu, said: "I wish to say a word or two only. First I want to explain that, backwards as our province is, all those of us who are at all educated deeply sympathize in the objects of this Congress, and most especially in this resolution now under consideration, and we look forward hopefully to having a council of our own at Nagpur with elected members. Even now such a council would be a great boon to us, and every year it will grow more and more of a necessity. Secondly, as my co-religionists from Dacca, Fyzabad, and other places have told you, it is quite ridiculous to pretend that the Mahomedans who have any sort of education are wanting in interest in this Congress, or consider that their interests differ from those of their Hindu brethren where these administrative reforms are concerned. Our numbers are not large in the Central Provinces, but so far as we go, we are as heartily with you as the rest of the community."

Pandit Jwala Datt Joshi (*Kumaon, No.* 150) said: "This subject has been so exhaustively discussed by the gentlemen who have preceded me that it really leaves nothing for me to say as to the matter of the resolution. I only rise to say before the Congress that I am a delegate from a province where Hindus and Mahomedans live together in perfect harmony, and that I represent both communities—that both sympathize in all the work of the Congress, and both have at heart (I mean those amongst them at all educated) the reform in the administration which is asked for in the resolution under discussion. There has been a good deal of writing in some of the papers about this demand for representation, now not denied to be widespread, being the result of wire pulling, and I want to say that so far from this, if no one else in the whole country even had taken up the matter, we in Kumaon should have independently worked for it. No one who knows us will believe that there are any men living who can wire pull us." (*Cheers.*)

Pandit Shyam Narain (*Lucknow, No.* 173). speaking in Urdu, said: "Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—I am unable to express my joy when I see before me so many patriotic men taking part in the deliberations of this great National Congress. It is a mistake to suppose that only English-knowing natives sympathize with the objects of this Congress or that our Mahomedan brethren do not quite as well appreciate them as ourselves. (*Cheers.*) I come from Lucknow which stands third or fourth in respect to population, though in English education it is far behind other Indian cities, and stands the first city in India in respect to the number of Mahomedan Princes and Nawabs who have made it their home. (*Cheers.*) Oudh was annexed only some 30 years ago. The Riaf-i-Am Association which has sent me here as one of its delegates has been established for some ten years. It counts among its members many Princes, Nawabs and Talukdars. The majority of its members are Mahomedans. It responded to the call of our countrymen most enthusiastically. (*Cheers.*) It elected more delegates than those that have joined the Congress. Its President, Shaikh Reza Hosain, on his way down to Calcutta, fell ill at Cawnpore. The ill-founded rumour of cholera kept some back. Among those that have come from Lucknow, Nawab Reza Ali Khan, represents the Shia nobility; Mr. Hamid Ali represents the English-educated Mahomedans, and Haji Mahomed Tegh Bahadur, Proprietors, of *Rozana* (an Urdu Daily), represents the Sunni sect of Lucknow Mahomedan. There are also Kashmiri Pundits, Khatri, Kayasth and Bengalees, all representative men among the Lucknow delegates. One of our brother delegates had received a letter, from a Doctor advising him not to go to Calcutta, but sympathy with the noble objects of this Congress prevailed against the fear of cholera.

"In support of this fourth resolution, I beg to say that I consider it essential to the true progress of my country. (*Cheers.*) So long as some representative element be not introduced into the several Legislative Councils of India, so long this country will not be able to get over its present difficulties. Unless the right to elect members to our Legislative Councils be conferred upon us the true interests of neither the government of this country nor of its people will ever be secured. (*Cheers.*) It is a common saying among us that God manifests Himself in the Punchayet. Unless we have, in our Legislative Councils, men elected by us and conversant with our inner life, no suitable laws to promote our true happiness can ever be enacted. As the Government of our country is the most civilized Government in the world and our true well-wisher, I confidently expect that it will grant our request. I have every reason to expect nothing but kindness from our most merciful mother, the Queen Empress, and the most enlightened British Parliament, if only our humble petition and the true state of our case be laid before them." (*Loud cheers.*)

Mr. Devi Charan Barua (*Debrughur, Assam, No.* 429) said: "I speak on behalf of the Province of Assam when I say that we are quite in accord with you on the question of representation. The introduction of a representative system in some form is as urgently required in Assam as it is in all the other provinces of the whole Empire of India. Unless a representative system is introduced the real wants of the country can scarcely be met. Allowing freely that our rulers, foreigners and strangers as they are to all that most intimately affects us, are actuated by the highest motives and do their best for us, the present state of the country, and the universal feeling that pervades it, sufficiently show that neither the purity of their intentions nor the conscientiousness of their efforts can compensate for that want of practical sympathy with and detailed knowledge of the circumstances of our case, which only our own people, carefully selected by ourselves, can supply. (*Loud cheers.*) I support this resolution most strenuously and on behalf of the whole of the Assam people."

Munshi Sadho Lal (*Benares, No.* 146), speaking in Urdu, said: "No one seems yet to have spoken on behalf of Benares, India's most sacred and one of her largest cities. Perhaps it is not needful. From North to South, from East to West, one feeling pervades the country, and Benares, you may be sure, a stronghold of education, though not as yet English education, is not behind the rest of the country in its aspirations after representative institutions. On behalf then of my brother delegates, and the holy city of Kashi, I declare our entire concurrence in this resolution." (*Cheers.*)

The President then said: "We have seen that there is but one opinion in regard to this resolution. We have heard representatives from every portion of the Empire testifying on its behalf, and it is time now that I put it to you for your formal acceptance."

The resolution was then put and carried by acclamation without a dissentient voice.

Mr. N. N. Gupta (*Sind, No.* 95) said: "I will now, with your permission, move the following resolution: 'That this Congress do invite all public bodies and all Associations throughout the country, humbly and earnestly, to entreat His Excellency the Viceroy to obtain the sanction of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, to the appointment of a Commission, to enquire exhaustively into the best method of introducing such a tentative form of representative institutions into India as has been indicated in Resolutions III of the past and IV of the present year's Congress.' (*Resolution V of the Summary, page* 43.) This is a necessary corollary of the resolution just so enthusiastically passed. The whole nation has made up its mind upon the subject, and having done so the next thing is to endeavour to bring home this fact to the authorities here and in England, and induce them, if possible, to take the initial steps necessary for giving practical effect to the universal wish."

Row Sahib M. B. Namjoshi (*Bombay, No.* 69) said: "I have been asked to second this resolution and I gladly do so. The only remark I think necessary is that, after having passed the fourth resolution, it becomes absolutely necessary to make this prayer to the Government. We have affirmed the proposition that the several provinces of the Empire are prepared for representative Legislative Councils, and this would naturally follow with the progress we have been making since the passing of the Indian Council's Act of 1861. We have been saying for several years past that we are prepared for the introduction of representative Legislative Councils, that we are fit for the privilege of representation; we have unanimously moreover now decided that the grant of this privilege has become a necessity from all points of view whether our own or that of our rulers (if only they can realise their own highest interests), and now we invite the Government to make inquiry and ascertain whether all things are not exactly in accordance with what we have said, and whether the present condition of the country does, or does not, render the proposed reform desirable and expedient." (*Cheers.*)

Kumar Binay Krishna (*Calcutta, No.* 242) said: "I support the resolution, and I do so with my whole heart, but will not take up the time of the Congress with further discussion at this late hour."

The President said: "This proposition, I dare say, requires no further discussion. It is only an appeal to the Government to satisfy themselves by the appointment of a Commission or otherwise, that what we ask is reasonable."

The motion was then put and carried unanimously.

Row Sahib P. Rangiah Naidu (*Madras, No.* 1) said: 'I beg to move the following resolution: 'That copies of these resolutions be forwarded to His Excellency the Viceroy in Council, with the humble requests, that he will cause the first resolution to be submitted in due course to Her Majesty the Queen Empress; that he will cause all the resolutions to be laid before Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India; and that he himself will be graciously pleased, in consultation with his colleagues, to accord them his best consideration.' (*Resolution XV of Summary, page* 45.) I don't think I need detain you longer. The resolution speaks for itself and must commend itself to every one."

Mr. Sorabjee F. Patell (*Bombay, No.* 50) said: "I have great pleasure in seconding this resolution. You will remember the object of our first resolution. It was in connection with the Jubilee, a memorable event which we could not more appropriately celebrate. Our second request is that H. E. the Viceroy will honor us by sending all the resolutions at which this National Congress has arrived officially to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, and our third that he will himself in consultation with his colleagues accord them his best consideration, and I am sure you will agree with me that, knowing what we do of His Excellency, we have every reason to hope and believe that in these, and all other matters, he will do the best he can for us and our country." (*Cheers.*)

The President said: "I may now I suppose put the resolution."

The resolution was then put and passed unanimously.

Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee (*Calcutta, No.* 275) said: "I am afraid I am transgressing the rule our President laid down this morning that no new subject should be introduced at this Congress. But I have no doubt you will agree that an exception should be made in favor of the subject that I am about to propose. My opinion is that permanent Committees of this Congress ought to be constituted in all the provinces of India. (*Loud cheers.*) Each province will, no doubt, fix the number of its own Committee, and appoint its own Committee men, but a Committee, small or large, is absolutely requisite in every province. Without such Committees it is quite impossible to keep up a regular correspondence between all the different parts of the country, and so to arrive in due time at a general agreement as to the various questions on which action is to be taken at the Congress.

"I propose, therefore, that Standing Congress-Committees be constituted at all important centres." (*Resolution XIII of Summary, page* 45.)

Mr. N. G. Chandavarkar (*Bombay, No.* 49) said: "I beg to second the resolution. We are all agreed as to the necessity of that arrangement, and I need say no more on the subject."

The resolution was then put to the vote, and unanimously agreed to.

Mr. A. O. Hume (*Punjab, No.* 112) said: "I also, like my friend Mr. Bonnerjee, am about to venture to transgress the ruling of the President by introducing a subject not included in the list of business. But my excuse is that, if the resolution I have to propose be a new one, it is at any rate a very little one, and when you hear what it is, you will, I am sure, pardon my transgression, and cordially assent to my proposition. I now propose that the Third Indian National Congress assemble at Madras on the 27th of December, 1887. (*Resolution XIV of Summary, page* 45.) (*Loud and prolonged cheering.*) It is, I see, quite needless for me to commend this resolution to your acceptance or to say a single word more."

The Hon'ble S. Subramania Iyer (*Madras, No.* 2) said: "It is my pleasant duty to second this resolution, and first I desire to say that, words fail me in expressing our heartfelt thanks to our Calcutta brethren for the hospitable, nay noble, manner in which they have received the delegates from all parts of India. I am not speaking the language of exaggeration when I say that they have imposed upon us a weighty and lasting debt of gratitude. In the next place it is my duty—and I speak the feeling of my brethren here—to convey our warmest and heartiest thanks to the Reception Committee for the excellent reception they have accorded us and to say how deeply we feel the persistent and patient kindness with which Mr. Ghosal, Baboos Girija Bhusan and Kumud Chunder Mookerjee, not to mention other gentlemen whose names I have not yet learned to pronounce, have provided for all our wants and anticipated all our wishes. (*Cheers.*) I can assure you that our most sanguine expectations of the character of the reception which we were to receive in Calcutta have been exceeded by the reality. (*Cheers.*) Gentlemen, the proposal to hold this Congress next year at Madras was made by me last year at Bombay, but I did not press it for reasons which I then explained. The reception which we have received here makes my heart falter as to whether I should press it at this time, but my brethren insist on our undertaking the duty, and asking you to hold the Congress next year at Madras. (*Loud cheers.*) If the invitation which I now make to you is accepted, I can only assure that we shall give you the best, the most cordial, the most loving reception which lies in our power, though it may not be so princely as that which our Calcutta brethren have here accorded to us. (*Cheers.*) Therefore, in the name of my Madras colleagues who are here assembled, and in the name of our Madras brethren, whose representatives we are, I invite you to meet us next December in the Capital of the Presidency which terminates with Cape Comorin, and I hope that you will accept this invitation in the hearty and brotherly spirit in which, despite all our misgivings as to our possible shortcomings, we now give it." (*Loud cheers.*)

Mr. Sorabjee F. Patell (*Bombay, No.* 50) said: "I am glad to be allowed to join in thanking the Reception Committee, their able secretaries, and all our Bengal friends who have taken part in the kind work of receiving us. They have not only provided most completely for the accommodation of all the delegates, but have also in a thousand ways promoted their comfort, and we are all, in common gratitude, bound to, and *do*, most heartily thank them for having so cordially welcomed us and so kindly cared for us."

The President, in putting the resolution, said: "I am sure all here present will respond to the kind invitation of our Madras friends with the utmost enthusiasm."

The motion was then carried by acclamation.

The Honorable Peary Mohun Mookerjee (*Calcutta, No.* 233) said: "It only remains for me to propose a vote of thanks to the President, which I have, accordingly, the greatest pleasure in now doing."

Mr. S. H. Chiplunkar (*Poona, No.* 65) seconded the motion, which was carried by acclamation.

Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee (*Calcutta, No.* 239) said: "I propose a vote of thanks to the delegates for having come from all parts of India to this capital. And in doing so I will only make one remark. There are a great many Mahomedan gentlemen of Upper India amongst us here. I would ask them to go back and exercise their influence in preventing, in future, those fratricidal tumults and *emeutes* between Hindus and Mahomedans, which have occurred so frequently in recent times, and which we all so deeply deplore. I only hope their efforts will be crowned with that complete success which the righteousness of the cause deserves." (*Long cheers.*)

The motion was then put and carried by acclamation.

The President said: "In responding to the vote of thanks, which you have so kindly accorded to me, I hope the meeting will allow me to say that my expectations as to the admirable conduct of this large assembly have been thoroughly fulfilled and more than fulfilled. I am only speaking tamely I fear when I say that from first to last nothing could possibly have been more honourable to our country than the conduct of all concerned or than the spirit that has pervaded the entire assemblage. In the heat of argument, under that greatest of all stimuli, patriotic enthusiasm, not one word, I believe, has escaped a single speaker that he need wish unspoken. Kindness, courtesy and a spirit of cheerful mutual concession have pervaded our proceedings, which, but for this, could never have reached this happy and successful termination. (*Loud cheers.*) You are pleased to thank me, but it is for me rather to thank you, for had it not been for the noble spirit in which each and all of you have co-operated in the work and for the support which you have so heartily afforded me in respect of every proposition, which has come before the Congress, I could never have succeeded in thus bringing to a successful close the important business that devolved upon us. (*Cheers.*) I heartily, therefore, thank you one and all for having enabled me to perform my duty and for having made it so easy for me to do it. (*Loud cheers.*)

"There is, however, just one point to which I ought perhaps to refer more particularly, and that is to the spirit of fairness and moderation and respect towards the Government which has characterized your proceedings from the beginning to the end. I need hardly say how gratified I have been to observe how thoroughly all have seemed to be imbued with that spirit. Not only is it to our interest that it should be so, but it is what the Government, after all they have done for us, have a just right to expect from us. (*Cheers.*) And I only hope that the example which this great assemblage has set in this respect will be followed not only at all future meetings of the Congress, not only by all and every Association throughout the country, but also by the entire Indian Press, some members of which, under the influence of the bad example too often set to them by a portion of the Anglo-Indian Press, have at times, it must be confessed, transgressed in this respect. (*Hear, hear.*) If we really desire to be respected, if we wish our requests to be attended to, if we honestly expect that the English nation will do its duty toward us, we must prove ourselves worthy by showing that we are never unreasonable, never violent, never uncharitable. We must show that we are earnest, but temperate, cognizant of our own rights, but respectful of those of others; expecting the fairest constructions of our own acts and motives, and conceding these to those of others; that, in a word, whatever our status in life, high or low, rich or poor, we have become gentlemen in the highest sense of the word. Unless we are and can prove ourselves gentlemen in this highest, noblest sense, I do not know that we are worthy to receive the concessions for which we are pressing. (*Loud cheers.*) I do not think I need trouble the Congress with any further remarks. I will simply say once more: I thank you. I thank you, for myself, for the honour you have done me in choosing me as President, and for the generous kindness with which you have upheld me in the performance of the responsible duties of that high position, and I thank you on behalf of all your countrymen—on behalf of posterity—for the noble manner in which, at this great Congress—which history will not readily forget—you have upheld the credit, the character, the dignity of our beloved India." (*Long and enthusiastic cheering.*)

Three cheers were next called for, for Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen-Empress; three for His Excellency the Viceroy; three for the Provincial Governors and Lieutenant-Governors, and three more for Mr. A. O. Hume, which were all given most warmly and vehemently.

The Congress was then dissolved.

APPENDIX I.

LIST OF DELEGATES.

WHO ATTENDED* THE

SECOND INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,

HELD AT CALCUTTA, DECEMBER 1886.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District or City.	Names of the Delegates.	Place or Association which they represent.	REMARKS.
1	Madras		Madras	Rao Sahib P. Rangiah Naidu...	Madras Mahajana Sabha and Triplicane Literary Society.	Landed Proprietor, Ml. Councillor, Dist. Board Member, President, Mahajana Sabha.
2	„		„	Hon. S. Subramania Iyer, B.L.	Mahajana Sabha.	Vakil, High Court, and Member, Madras Legislative Council.
3	„		„	Mr. T. Numberumal Chettiar, B.A.	„	Merchant.
4	„		„	Rao Sahib A. Danakoti Mudaliar Avl.	„	Zemindar of Malepankum, Municipal Councillor, Wandiwash.
5	„		„	Mr. G. Subramania Iyer, B.A.	„	Editor of the "Hindu."
6	„		„	Rao Sahib P. Ananda Charlu, B.L.	„	Vakil, High Court, Ml. Councillor and Secretary, Mahajana Sabha.
7	„		„	Mr. P. Subramania Iyer ...	„	Articled Clerk.
8	„		„	Mr. M. Ramasawmy Naidu ...	„	Merchant and Contractor.
9	„		„	Mr. M. Veeraraghava Chariar, B.A.	Mahajana Sabha and Trip. Lit. Society.	Joint-Editor of the "Hindu," and Secy., Mahajana Sabha.
10	„		„	Mr. M. G. Sriranga Chariar, B.A., B.L.	Madras M. Sabha.	Vakil, High Court.
11	„		„	Mr. N. Radhakrishna Iyer ...	Madras	

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* Many more delegates were nominated or elected, but were prevented by sickness, business, &c., from attending.

LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District or City.	Names of the Delegates.	Place or Association which they represent.	Remarks.
12	Madras		Madras	Mr. M. Aguppah Mudaliar ...	Madras	Municipal Commr., Burmah.
13	"		"	Mr. N. Kristnasawmy Naidu, B.A., B.L.	The Hindu Excelsior Reading Rooms.	
14	"		"	Mr. A. C. Parthasaradhi Naidu	Madras	Editor of the "Andhraprakasika."
15	"		Ganjam Dt.	Rao Sahib Pakala Gopal Row, B.A.	Berhampore	Pleader, District Court, Landholder and Municipal Councillor.
16	"		Vizagapatam Dist.	Mr. Vepa Kristna Moorthy Pantulu Garu, M.A.	Vizagapatam and Bimlipatam.	Pleader, Dist. Court.
17	"		"	Mr. P. Venkannah Pantulu Garu.	"	Ditto ditto.
18	"		Godavery District.	Rao Sahib Singaraju V. Subboroyudu Pantulu Garu, B.L.	Rajamundry and Masulipatam.	Vakil, High Court, Masulipatam, and Ml. Councillor.
	"		Kristna Dt.	Do. Do. ...	Bezwada, Gudiveda and Kristna	Ditto ditto.
19	"		Nellore Dt.	Rao Sahib S. Narayana Sawmy Chetty, B.A.	Nellore and Ongole.	Pleader, District Court, and Municipal Councillor and Dist. Board Member.
20	"		"	Mr. M. Venkata Subba Row ...	"	Pleader, Munsiff's Court.
21	"		"	Mr. Anchoor Subbanaidu ...	"	Merchant and Landed Proprietor.
22	"		"	Mr. Kalanakur Vencata Reddy	"	Contractor.
23	"		Bellary Dt.	Rao Bahadur A Sabapathy Mudaliar Avl.	Bellary	Merchant, Chairman, Municipal Council.

LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District or City.	Names of the Delegates.	Place or Association which they represent.	**Remarks.**
24	Madras		Bellary Dt.	Mr. K. Venkata Rao Garu ...	Hospett, Bellary	1st Grade Pleader and Landholder.
25	"		"	Khan Sahib Kurnool Abdool Kareem Saheb.	Bellary.	Municipal Councillor and Merchant.
26	"		"	Mr. T. Chidambara Row Garu, B.A.	"	1st Grade Pleader.
27	"		"	Mr. L. Rama Row ...	"	District Registrar. President, Rate-payers' Association, Bellary.
8	"		"	Mr. C. E. Ranganatham Mudaliar.	"	Medical Officer.
9	"		Anantpur District.	Mr. Y. Choudappa Garu ...	Gooty	Pleader and Ryot and Chairman of the Gooty Union.
0	"		"	Mr. N. Nagesa Row Garu ...	Penukondah and Gooty.	Do. do. and member of the Gooty Taluqa Board.
1	"		"	Rao Sahib P. Kesava Pillai Avl	Anantpore and Gooty	Pleader and Ryot and Member of the District Board. Secy., Gooty People's Association.
2	"		"	Mr. P. Venketachella Pillai ...	"	Landholder.
3	"		Kurnool.	Rao Sahib V. Soonki Reddy Garu.	Kurnool.	Local Fund Member, Municipal Councillor, Landholder.
	"		"	Rao Sahib P. Chenchi Reddy Garu.	"	Ditto
	"		"	Rao Sahib M. Govinda Reddy Garu.	"	Ditto.
	"		North Arcot District	Mr. Chedambadi Subbiah Naidu Garu.	Walajanaggar	1st Grade Pleader.
	"		"	Mr. V. Gopala Chariar Avl, B.A.	Chittore	1st Grade Pleader
	"		"	Mr. C. V. Srinivasa Chariar Avl, B.A.	"	Ditto.

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Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District or City.	Names of the Delegates.	Place or Association which they represent.	Remarks.
39	Madras		Chingleput District	Mr. M. Ramanuja Chariar Avl.	Chingleput	Pleader, District Court.
40	„		„	Mr. Shummugarvya Modaliur Avergal.	„	Zemindar.
41	„		Tanjore Dt.	Rao Sahib S. A. Saminada Iyer Avl.	Combaconam.	Pleader, District Court, District Board Member, and the President of the Tanjore People's Association.
42	„		„	Mr. P. Krishnaswamy Aiyar Avl.	Mayaveram.	Mirasdar.
43	„		South Arcot District.	Mr. S. Devanayaga Mudaliar Avl.	Cuddalore	Landed Proprietor and Chairman, Municipal Council.
44	„		„	Mr. T. Govindaswamy Naidoo	„	Landed Proprietor.
45	„		Coimbatore District.	Rao Sahib S. P. Narasimha Naidoo.	Coimbatore	Editor and Proprietor of the "Crescent," Member of the District Board and Director of the Mercantile Bank.
46	„		Raichore	Mr. P. Nagapa Moodaliar ...	Raichore	Cotton Merchant.
47	„		Malabar Dist.	Rao Sahib C. Kunhi Raman Menon Avl., B. A.	Calicut ...	Editor and Managing Proprietor of the "Kerala Patrika" and Municipal Councillor.
48	Bombay	The Concan	Bombay.	Hon. Dadabhai Naoroji ...	Bom. City	Merchant, Member, Legislative Council.
49	„	„	„	Mr. N. G. Chandavarkar, B.A., L.L.B.	„	Editor of the "Induprakash," Pleader, High Court.
50	„	„	„	Mr. Sorabjee F. Patell ...	„	Merchant.

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Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District or City.	Names of the Delegates.	Place or Association which they represent.	Remarks.
51	Bombay	The Concan	Bombay	Mr. Dinshaw E. Watcha ...	Bom. City	Hon. Secretary, Bombay Presidency Association.
52	„	„	„	Mr. Shamrao Vithul ...	„	Pleader, High Court.
53	„	„	„	Mr. Ghanasham Nilkanth ...	„	Ditto.
54	„	„	„	Mr. R. M. Sayani ...	„	Solicitor, High Court, Late Sheriff of Bombay.
55	„	„	„	Kazi Mahomed Ismail Chikmai	„	Translator and Interpreter, High Court.
56	„	„	„	Mr. Daji Abaji Khare, B.A., L.L.B.	„	High Court, Pleader.
57	„	„	„	Mr. Chunilal Laloobhai Parekh	Bom. Arya Dnyan Vardhak Sabha.	Vice-President of the A. D. V. Sabha and Merchant.
58	„	„	„	Mr. Gordhandas Khattan ...	Bom. City	Agent, Khattan Makanji Mills.
59	„	„	„	Mr. Mathuradas Lilladhar ...	„	Mill Owner, Agent, N. G. Eastern Mills.
60	„	„	„	Mr. Bamanji Phirozesha ...	„	Solicitor, High Court.
61	„	„	Tanna.	Rao Sahib Gangadhar Kashinath.	Bassein.	Pleader, Vice-President of the Taluqa Board,
62	„	„	„	Rao Sahib Laxuman Narayan	„	Landholder and Municipal Commissioner.
63	„	Deccan	Sangli ...	Mr. Krishnarao Vinayak Khadilkar.	Sangli ...	Landholder.
64	„	„	Poona ...	Rao Sahib T. N. Ragmachikar	Poona Sarvajanik Sabha.	Sirdar, Landholder and Ml. Commissioner.
65	„	„	„	Mr. S. H. Chiplunkar ...	„	Hon. Secretary, Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, and Editor, P. S. S.'s Quarterly Journal.

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Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District or City.	Names of the Delegates.	Place or Association which they represent.	Remarks.
66	Bombay	Deccan	Poona ...	Mr. S. H. Sathe ...	Poona Sarvajanik Sabha.	Secy., Poona S. Sabha.
67	„	„	„	Mr. Vaman Prabhakar Bhave...	„	Member, P. S. S., and Principal, Poona Native Institution.
68	„	„	„	Mr. M. V. Natu ...		Member, P. S. S. and Landholder.
69	„	„	„	Rao Sahib M. B. Namjoshi ...	„	Municipal Commissioner, and Life Member, Deccan Education Society.
70	„	„	„	Mr. Venkatesh Govind Lailey	„	Pleader and Member, P. S. S.
71	„	„	„	Mr. N. B. Kanitkar ...	Poona ...	Ditto.
72	„	„	„	Rao Sahib Raghunath Daji Nagarkar.	„	Municipal Commissioner, Landholder and Member, P. S. S., Pleader.
73	„	„	„	Rao Sahib Damodar Vidyadhar Gokhle.	„	M. Commissioner and Member, Poona S. S., Assistant Public Prosecutor.
74	„	„	„	Rao Sahib A. Moodookrishna Moodliar.	„	Landholder, Municipal Commissioner and Member, P. S. S.
75	„	„	„	Mr. B. V. Moodliar ...	„	Landholder, M., P. S. S.
76	„	„	Sattara ...	Rao Bahadoor Ganesh Pandurang Agte.	Sattara ...	Vice-President, District Local Board.
77	„	„	„	Rao Sahib Govind Vishnoo Ranade.	„	Ml. C., District Court Pleader.
78	„	„	„	Rao Sahib Ragrunath Pandurang Karandikab.	„	Pleader, Ml. Councillor.

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Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District or City.	Names of the Delegates.	Place or Association which they represent.	REMARKS.
79	Bombay	Deccan	Sattara ...	Rao Sahib Balvant Shridhar Sahasrabudhe.	Sattara ...	District Court Pleader, M. Commissioner, Sattara.
80	„	„	„	Rao Sahib Ganesh Gopal Kuber	„	Pleader, District Court, and Ml. Commissioner.
81	„	„	„	Rao Sahib Mahadaji Gopal Kuber	„	Pleader, Member, District Board.
82	„	„	Belgaum	Rao Sahib Sadashiv Balkrishna Bhate.	Belgaum Branch of the Bo. Pres. Assn.	Pleader and M. C., Secy. of Belgaum Branch of Bo. Pres. Assn. Proprietor, New English School.
83	„	Baroda,	Baroda ...	Mr. Vithal Luxuman Kavathekar, B.A.		
84	„	Gujrat	Ahmedabad	Mr. Manilal Govind Rai ...	Gujrat Sabha	Vakil.
85	„	„	„	Rao Sahib Kesavlal Motilal ...	„	Vakil and Municipal Commissioner.
86	„	„	„	Mr. Lallubhai Nanabhai Bhat...	„	
87	„	„	Surat ...	Mr. Hoshangji Barjorji, B.A., L.L.B.	Prajahit Vardhak Sabha.	Pleader, High Court.
88	„	„	„	Rao Sahib Harilal Harshadrai Dhruva, B.A., L.L.B.	Do. and Broach, Viragaum & Nariad.	High Court Pleader, Municipal Commissioner, Hon. Secretary, Prajahit Vardhak Sabha.
89	„	„	„	Mr. Manchhashankar Jivanram, B.A., L.L.B.	Surat ...	High Court, Pleader.
90	„	„	„	Mr. Ratiram Durgaram Dave, B.A.	„	Articled Clerk to Messrs. Payne, Gilbert and Sayani, Solicitors, Bombay, Editor of the "Gujarati."
91	„	„	„	Mr. Mancharsha Pallonji Kaikobad.	„	Head Master, Mission High School, and Hon. Secy., Prajahit Vardhak Sabha.

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Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District or City.	Names of the Delegates.	Place or Association which they represent.	Remarks.
92	Bombay	Sind	Sukkur	Rao Sahib Gobind Buksh Awatrai.	Sind Sabha, Sukkur and Hyderabad.	Zemindar, Pleader, Municipal Commissioner and Member, District Board.
93	„	„	Hyderabad	Mr. Hiranand Showkiram Advani.	Sind Sabha, Kurrachi.	Editor of the "Sind Sudhar."
94	„	„	Kurrachi	Seth Vishindas Nihal Chand ...	Kotri and Kurrachi.	Zemindar, Municipal Commissioner and District Board Member.
95	„	„	„	Mr. N. N. Gupta ...	Sind Sabha.	Editor of the "Sind Times."
96	Bengal	Punjab	Lahore	Lala Hukm Chand ...	Indian Association, Lahore	Pleader, Member, Anjumani, Punjab.
97	„	„	„	Sirdar Uttam Singh Súd ...	Lahore ...	Rais, Political Pensioner.
98	„	„	„	Pundit Satyanand Agnihotri ...	„	Brahmo Missionary.
99	„	„	„	Mr. C. Goloknath ...	Indian Association, Lahore	Barrister-at-law, Secy., Indian Association, Lahore.
100	„	„	„	Mr. G. N. Chatterjee ...	„	Asst. Professor, Government College.
101	„	„	„	Baboo Jogendra Chunder Bose, M.A., B.L.	Lahore ...	Pleader, Chief Court, Punjab.
102	„	„	„	Mr. Jagat Narain ...	„	Son of Munshi Hursook Rai, Reis and Proprietor of the "Kohinoor." Manager of the Kohinoor and Member, Unjumani, Punjab.
103	„	„	„	Pundit Din Dayal ...	„	Editor of the "Kohinoor."
104	„	„	„	Lala Kanhya Lal ...	„	Pleader, Chief Court.
105	„	„	Amritsar	Sirdar Bhai Atma Singh ...	Amritsar	Municipal Commissioner.
106	„	„	Ambala	Pundit Shahzada Ram ...	Ambala	Pleader, Chief Court and Municipal Commr.

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107	Bengal	Punjab	Ambala.	Lala Murlidhar ...	Ambala.	Pleader.
108	"	"	"	Pundit Tailoo Ram ...	"	
109	"	"	Gurdaspur	Lala Ram Saran Das ...	Gurdaspur	Pleader.
110	"	"	Dera Ismail Khan	Malik Bhugwan Das ...	Dera Ismail Khan	Pleader and Vice-President, Bhratri Sabha.
111	"	"	"	Malik Nebraj ...	"	Fellow B. Sabha.
112	"	"	Simla	A. O. Hume ...		Late of Bengal Civil Service.
113	"	N. W. P.	Allahabad.	Munshi Kashi Prosad ...	Allahabad.	Vakil, High Court, Hon. Secretary of Hindu Samaj and of N. W. P. and Oudh Association. President, Arya Samaj.
114	"	"	"	Lala Rameburn Dass ..	"	Rais, Banker, Junior Vice-Chairman, Municipal Board and Hony. Magistrate.
115	"	"	"	Koar Sivanath Sinha ...	"	Barrister-at-law, and Vice-President, N. W. P. and Oudh Association.
116	"	"	"	Mr. T. N. Ghose ...	"	Municipal Commissioner.
117	"	"	"	Pundit Newal Behary Bajpaye...	"	Vakil.
118	"	"	"	Pundit Madan Mohan Malavya, B.A.	"	Teacher.
119	"	"	"	Baboo Charoo Chunder Mittra...	"	Senior Vice-Chairman, Municipal Board, Secy., N. W. P. and Oudh Association.
120	"	"	"	Babu Bholanath Chatterjea ...	Hindu Samaj, Allahabad.	
121	"	"	"	Pundit Deokinandan ...	"	Editor of the "Prayag Samachar."
122	"	"	"	Mr. Satyendraprosad Sannyal...	"	
123	"	"	"	Munshi Taraprosad, M.A. ...	"	Vakil.

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Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District or City.	Names of the Delegates.	Place or Association which they represent.	Remarks.
124	Bengal	N. W. P.	Allahabad.	Dr. Brojendranath Banerjea ...	Hindu Samaj, Allahabad	Medical Practitioner.
125	„	„	„	Baboo Shama Churn Mookerjee	„	Pleader.
126	„	„	„	Pundit Mourgunnesh ...	„	Asst. Secy., Hindu Samaj.
127	„	„	„	Pundit Gobind Rao Goray ...	„	
128	„	„	Brindaban	Pundit Radha Charan Gosvami	„	Municipal Commissioner, Brindaban.
129	„	„	Ballia	Pundit Indira Datta Upadhyaya, M.A.	Ballia Institute	Secy. of Ballia Arya Desopkarini Sabha, and Asst. Secy., Ballia Institute.
130	„	„	„	Baboo Deo Narain Singh ...	„	Talukdar of Mainya.
131	„	„	„	Munshi Devi Prasada ...	Ballia	Pleader and Secy. to the Ballia Municipality.
132	„	„	„	Pundit Bhugwandin Rai ...	„	
133	„	„	Bijnour	Konr Syam Sinha ...	Tajpore	Rais.
134	„	„	Ghazipur	Baboo Sukdeva Narayan Sinha	Ghazipur	
135	„	„	Agra	Konr Kanhi Singh ...	Agra Association	Rais, Municipal Commissioner, Honorary Magistrate, Member, Agra Association.
136	„	„	„	Baboo Jumna Das Biswas ...	„	Editor, Nasim Agra, Chairman "Arya Samaj," Secretary, Agra Association and Municipal Commissioner.
137	„	„	„	Pundit Thakur Prosad ...	„	Assistant Professor of Sanskrit, Agra College.
138	„	„	„	Thakur Umrao Singh ...	„	Rais of Jatow.
139	„	„	Mynpuri	Thakur Zahir Singh ...	Mynpuri	Reis.

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Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District or City.	Names of the Delegates.	Place or Association which they represent.	REMARKS.
140	Bengal	N. W. P.	Benares	Baboo Madho Dass ...	Benares.	Rais, Zemindar, Banker, Hon. Magistrate.
141	„	„	„	Baboo Madhusudan Dass ...	„	Rais, Zemindar and Banker.
142	„	„	„	Mirza Mahomed Rahmutullah Beg.	„	Landholder & Pleader.
143	„	„	„	Baboo Abnasi Lall ...	„	Landholder, Rais and Banker.
144	„	„	„	Munshi Rughunandan Prasad, B.A.	„	Pleader & Landholder, Hon. Secy., District Board.
145	„	„	„	Rai Shyam Krishna Das ...	„	Rais, Zemindar and Banker.
146	„	„	„	Munshi Sadho Lal ...	„	Rais, Zemindar and Banker.
147	„	„	„	Baboo Luchman Das ...	„	Rais and Banker.
148	„	„	„	Dr. Chhunnoo Loll ...	„	Medical Practitioner.
149	„	„	„	Baboo Ram Kali Chaudhuri ...	„	Govt. Pensioner, late Subordinate Judge, Benares.
150	„	„	Kumaon	Pundit Jwala Datt Joshi ...	Almora	Vakil, High Court, N. W. P.
151	„	„	Mirzapur	Munshi Bindeswari Prasada ...	Mirzapur Institute	Pleader.
152	„	„	Aligarh	Baboo Bhowanee Chandra Chakravarti, B.A. ...	Aligarh	Vakil.
153	„	„	Farukhabad	Mr. Gopal Hari ...	Vaidik Samaj, Farukhabad.	
154	„	„	„	Mr. Thakur Das ...	Farukhabad	

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155	Bengal	N. W. P.	Meerut	Mr. Sitalakant Chatterjee ...	Meerut Association	Pleader.
156	„	„	„	Mr. Mullu Mal ...	„	Pleader.
157	„	„	„	Mr. Pralhad Singh ...	„	Rais, Pleader, Hon. Secy Meerut Association.
158	„	„	„	Mr. Raghobir Saran ...	Meerut	Pleader and Rais.
159	„	„	„	Choudhree Durga Singh ...	„	
160	„	„	Hurdwar	Mr. Binayakant Dat ...	Kankhal	
161	„	„	Azimgurh	Mr. Dhunput Lal ...	Azimgurh	Sadar Kanungo.
162	„	„	„	Mr. Basdeo Sahay ...	„	Head Master, Missi School.
163	„	„	Basti	Ramnath Shukla Ballabhay Kabi	Basti	
164	„	(Rohilkhand)	Muradabad	Pundit Bunwari Lall ...	Muradabad	Proprietor, Sitarahi Newspaper.
165	„	„	„	Moulivi Sayad Jawad Hosein...	British In. Association, Muradabad.	Government Pleader.
166	„	„	„	Baboo Baijnath ...	„	Pleader, Ml. Commissioner Assistant Secretary British In. Association Muradabad.
167	„	Oudh	Lucknow	Nawab Reza Ali Khan Bahadoor	Rifah-Am-Association.	Wasika Holder and Municipal Commissioner.
168	„	„	„	Mr. Hamid Ali Khan ...	„	Barrister-at-law.
169	„	„	„	Baboo Sri Ram, M.A., B.L. ...	„	Public Prosecutor, Municipal Commissioner.
170	„	„	„	Baboo Avinash Chunder Ghose, B.L.	„	Pleader and Municipa Commissioner.

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Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District or City.	Names of the Delegates.	Place or Association which they represent.	Remarks.
171	Bengal	Oudh	Lucknow	Baboo Bepin Behari Bose, M.A.	Rifah-Am-Association.	High Court Pleader.
172	"	"	"	Pundit Prannath ...	"	Teacher, Canning College, and Hon. Secretary to the Jalsai Tehzib.
173	"	"	"	Pundit Shyam Narain ...	Lucknow	Rais and Proprietor, Miratul Hind Newspaper.
174	"	"	"	Baboo Gangaprasad Varma ...	"	Editor and Proprietor of the "Hindustani" Newspaper.
175	"	"	"	Haji Mahomed Tegh Bahadur	"	Proprietor of the Rozana Akhbar.
176	"	"	"	Mr. B. M. Ray	"	Merchant and Proprietor of the firm of Messrs. H. C. Ray & Co.
177	"	"	Unao	Baboo Hargovind Dyal, M.A.	Unao and Lucknow	Government Pleader.
178	"	"	Partabgurh	Raja Rampal Singh ...	Partabgurh	Talukdar of Kala Kankur.
179	"	"	Bara Banki	Munshi Lalta Pershad ...	Bara Banki & Fyzabad.	Pensioner and Grant Holder.
180	"	"	Fyzabad	Baboo Kakkumul ...	Unjuman-i-Tehzib	Pleader, Chairman, Municipal Board.
181	"	"	"	Munshi Balak Ram ...	"	Pleader, Muncpl. Comr., Member, Dist. Board, Landed Proprietor.
182	"	"	"	Munshi Salagram, B.A., ..	"	Pleader and Member, Municipal Board.
183	"	"	"	Baboo Bepin Behary Dutt, B.L.	"	Ditto.
184	"	"	"	Baboo Gokul Chand ...	"	Pleader, Zemindar and President Unjuman Tehzib.
185	"	"	"	Sheikh Kadir Baksh ...	Fyzabad	Merchant, Municipal Commissioner, Hony. Magistrate.

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186	Bengal	Oudh	Fyzabad	Baboo Raghunandan ...	Fyzabad	Govt. Pensioner and Mahajan.
187	„	Central Provinces	Nagpur	Mr. Gungadhar Rao Madhaw Chitnavis	Nagpur and Loka Sabha.	Zemindar, son of the late Finance Minister of the late independent Raja of Nagpur, and President of the "Loka Sabha."
188	„	„	„	Rao Sahib Gopal Hurry Bhiday	Nagpur	Pleader, Municipal Commissioner, and Member of the District Council.
189	„	„	„	Rao Sahib Bapoo Rao Dada Tinkheria, M.A.	„	Ditto.
190	„	„	„	Munshi Syud Abdul Aziz ...	„	Pleader.
191	„	„	Khandwa	Baboo Haridas Chatterjee, M.A., B.L.	Khandwa	Pleader.
192	„	„	Jubbulpore	Mr. Behari Lal ...	Jubbulpore	
193	„	„	Hoshangabad	Baboo Behari Lall Basu ...	Hoshangabad.	Pleader.
194	„	„	„	Baboo Khetra Mohan Bose ...	„	Pleader.
195	„	Central India Agency	Indore	Mr. N. M. Khory ...	Indore	Pleader, Central India Courts, and Law Lecturer, Rajkumar College.
196	„	„	Mhow	Mohendra Nath Chatterjie ...	Central India Association	Pleader.
197	„	Behar	Patna	Moulvi Syud Sharfuddin ...	Bankipore	Barrister-at-law and Zemindar.
198	„	„	„	Baboo Guruprasad Sen M.A., B.L.	„	Pleader, Joint-Editor, "Behar Herald and Indian Chronicle," President, People's Association, and Secretary, Behar Landholder's Association.
199	„	„	„	Baboo Gajadhar Prasad ...	„	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.

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Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District or City.	Names of the Delegates.	Place or Association which they represent.	REMARKS.
200	Bengal	Behar	Patna	Moulavi Ahsan-uttowhid *alias* Wali ul-Hassan.	Bankipore	Zemindar.
201	,,	,,	,,	Baboo Bisseswar Sing	,,	Ditto and Pleader.
202	,,	,,	,,	Baboo Jai Narayan Bajpaye	,,	Merchant and Banker.
203	,,	,,	,,	Baboo Buldeo Ram	,,	Banker.
204	,,	,,	,,	Baboo Govinda Charan, M.A., B.L.	,,	Pleader.
205	,,	,,	,,	Baboo PurnenduNarayanSingh, M.A., B.L.	,,	Ditto.
206	,,	,,	,,	Baboo Kuldip Sahay	,,	Ditto.
207	,,	,,	,,	Baboo Narayan Prashad, B.L.	,,	Ditto.
208	,,	,,	,,	Rai Ishree Pershad	,,	Zemindar.
209	,,	,,	,,	Rai Radha Kissen	,,	Zemindar and Banker.
210	,,	,,	,,	Shah Reza Hossein	Behar	Zemindar.
211	,,	,,	,,	Shaik Allyool Hossein	,,	
212	,,	,,	,,	Baboo Raja Ram	Patna	Banker.
213	,,	,,	Shahabad	Baboo Baijnath Sing	Shahabad	Zemindar of Kulharia.
214	,,	,,	,,	Baboo Raj Rajeswary Pershad Singh	,,	Zemindar of Surajpoora.
215	,,	,,	,,	Baboo Shyamalanand	,,	Pleader and Zemindar.
216	,,	,,	,,	Baboo Rughoobans Sahay, B.A., B.L.	,,	Ditto.
217	,,	,,	,,	Baboo Kandhji Sahay, B.A., B.L.	,,	Ditto.

LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District or City.	Names of the Delegates.	Place or Association which they represent.	Remarks.
218	Bengal	Behar	Shahabad	Baboo Kishoree Lal Haldar, M.A., B.L.	Shahabad	Pleader.
219	"	"	"	Rai Jaiprakash Lall Bahadur...	Doomraon	Dewan of the Maharaja of Doomraon, late Member, Bengal Legislative Council.
220	"	"	Sarun	Syud Mahomed Naki ...	Chupra ...	Zemindar.
221	"	"	"	Baboo Bansidhar Gupta ...	"	Pleader.
222	"	"	"	Sheikh Waris Ali ...	"	Do.
223	"	"	Gya	Baboo Shew Shunkur Sahay ...	Gya	Zemindar and Pleader.
224	"	"	"	Baboo Nand Kishore Lal, M.A.	"	Zemindar.
225	"	"	Muzuffer-pore.	Baboo Ramdhare Sahay ...	Muzuffer-pore.	Zemindar and Secretary to Tirhoot Landholders' Association.
226	"	"	"	Baboo Parmeshwar Narayan Mahta.	"	Banker and Zemindar.
227	"	"	Bhagulpore	Baboo Tejnarain Singh ...	Bhagulpore	Zemindar.
228	"	Bengal	Calcutta	Maharaja Sir Jotendro Mohan Tagore, K.C.S.I.	British Indian Association.	Zemindar, President of the Bengal National League, late Member of the Supreme Legislative Council, &c., &c., &c.
229	"	"	"	Dr. Rajendralala Mitra, LL.D., C.I.E.	"	President, British Indian Association, late President, Bengal Asiatic Society, &c., &c.
230	"	"	"	Baboo Joykissen Mookerjee ...	"	Zemindar.
231	"	"	"	Baboo Doorga Churn Law, C.I.E.	"	Merchant, Zemindar, late Member, Supreme Legislative Council, &c., &c.
232	"	"	"	Baboo Syama Charan Law ...	"	Zemindar and Merchant.
233	"	"	"	Hon. Peary Mohan Mookerjee, M.A., B.L.	"	Zemindar, Member, Supreme Legislative Council, Honorary Secretary, British Indian Association, &c., &c.
234	"	"	"	Rai Kunja Lal Banerjee Bahadoor.	"	Late Small Cause Court Judge, Calcutta.
235	"	"	"	Baboo Saligram Singh, B.L. ...	"	Zemindar, Vakil, High Court, Presidency Magistrate.

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Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District or City.	Names of the Delegates.	Place or Association which they represent.	Remarks.
236	Bengal	Bengal	Calcutta	Baboo Rajkumar Sarvadhikari, M.A., B.L.	British Ind. Association.	Editor of the "Hindu Patriot."
237	"	"	"	Rajah Rajendra Narain Deb Bahadoor.	Indian Association and British Indian Association.	Zemindar and President, Indian Association.
238	"	"	"	Hon. A. M. Bose, M.A. ...	I. A. and Assam and Noakhally.	Barrister-at-Law, Member, Bengal Legislative Council, Hon. Magistrate, &c., &c.
239	"	"	"	Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee, B.A.	Indian Association.	Editor of the "Bengallee," Hon. Secretary, Indian Association and Bengal National League, Municipal Commissioner, Presidency Magistrate, &c., &c., &c.
240	"	"	"	Baboo Mohesh Chunder Chowdhry.	"	Zemindar, Vakil, High Court.
241	"	"	"	Maharaj Kumar Neel Krishna Bahadoor.	"	Zemindar, Municipal Commissioner, Presidency Magistrate.
242	"	"	"	Maharaj Kumar Binay Krishna Bahadoor.	Indian Association, Calcutta, and Khirpai and Ghatal Associations (Midnapore).	Zemindar.
243	"	"	"	Baboo Narendra Nath Sen ...	Indian Association.	Editor of the "Indian Mirror," Municipal Commissioner, Presidency Magistrate, Attorney-at-Law.
244	"	"	"	Baboo Jagarnath Khannah ...	"	Merchant, Municipal Commissioner, Presidency Magistrate.
245	"	"	"	Kumar Satyabadi Ghosal ...	"	Zemindar.
246	"	"	"	Hon. Kali Nath Mitter ...	"	Attorney-at-Law, Member, Bengal Legislative Council, Municipal Commissioner, Presidency Magistrate.
247	"	"	"	Baboo Jogendra Chandra Ghosh, M.A., B.L.	"	Vakil, High Court.

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Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District or City.	Names of the Delegates.	Place or Association which they represent.	Remarks.
248	Bengal	Bengal	Calcutta.	Baboo Neelkamal Mookerjee ...	Indian Association.	Zemindar.
249	„	„	„	Baboo Upendra Nath Mookerjee, B.L.	„	Pleader.
250	„	„	„	Baboo Jogendra Chandra Bose, B.A.	Indian Association and Tumlook Indian Association.	Editor of the "Suravi."
251	„	„	„	Pundit Jwala Nath Sarma ...	Burrabazar Political Association.	Pleader, Small Cause Court, Calcutta, and Secretary, Bharat Maitri Mandal.
252	„	„	„	Pundit Sadanand Misser ...	„	Editor of the "Sar Sudhanidhi."
253	„	„	„	Baboo Dvaraka Nath Ganguli	Indian Association and Nowgong Ryots' Association.	Assistant Secretary, Indian Association, Cal.
254	„	„	„	Baboo Devaprasad Sarvadhikari, M.A., B.L.	Indian Association.	Articled Clerk.
255	„	„	„	Baboo Satyaprasad Sarvadhikari	„	Joint-Editor of the "Bharatbasi," & Medical Practitioner.
256	„	„	„	Baboo Chandi Kishore Kushari	„	
257	„	„	„	Dr. Mohini Mohan Bose, M.D., L.R.C.P., &c., &c.	„	Medical Practitioner.
258	„	„	„	Baboo Kali Sunkur Sukul, M.A.	„	Professor, City College.
259	„	„	„	Baboo **Heramba** Chandra Maitra, M.A.	Indian A., Br. I. A., Krishnagar and Comercolly	Professor, City College.
260	„	„	„	Baboo Krishna Kumar Mitra, B.A.	Indian A., Paschim, Mymensing, Sammilani, and Tangail Br. Ind. A.	Chief Editor of the "Sanjivani."
261	„	„	„	Pundit Siva Nath Shastri ...	Ind. Association.	Brahmo Missionary.

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Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District or City.	Names of the Delegates.	Place or Association which they represent.	Remarks.
262	Bengal	Bengal	Calcutta	Baboo Umesh Chandra Dutt, B.A.	Indian Association, and Orissa People's Association.	Principal, City College, Calcutta.
263	"	"	"	Baboo Shambhuchandra Mukerjee	Indian Union and Baranagore Rate-payers' Association.	Editor, "Reis and Rayyet."
264	"	"	"	Baboo Jaygobind Law ...	Indian Union.	Merchant, Zemindar, Presidency Magistrate and Mun. Commissioner.
265	"	"	"	Baboo Prannath Datta ...	"	Merchant and Municipal Commissioner.
266	"	"	"	Baboo Surendranath Das, M.A.	"	Attorney-at-Law and Ml. Commissioner.
267	"	"	"	Baboo Pashupatinath Bose ...	"	Zemindar.
268	"	"	"	Baboo Jyotirindranath Tagore	"	Zemindar.
269	"	"	"	Baboo Trailokyanath Mitter, M.A., D.L.	"	Vakil, High Court, Hony. Secy. I. Union, Chairman, Serampore Municipality.
270	"	"	"	Mr. M. Ghose ...	Indian Union and Ind. Association.	Barrister-at-Law, Zemindar, Hony., Secy. I. Union.
271	"	"	"	Baboo Gurudas Banerjee, M.A., D.L.	"	Vakil, High Court and Mun. Commissioner.
272	"	"	"	Mr. R. D. Mehta ...	"	Merchant.
273	"	"	"	Baboo Kalicharan Banerjea, M.A., B.L.	"	Vakil, High Court.
274	"	"	"	Mr. N. N. Ghosh ...	Ind. Union	Barrister-at-Law, Editor of the "Indian Nation" and Mun. Commissioner.
275	"	"	"	Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee ...	Bengal National League.	Barrister-at-law and Vice-President, B. N. League.
276	"	"	"	Baboo Girijabhusan Mookerjee, M.A., B.L.	Do. and Siliguri.	Hon. Secy., Bengal National League, Vakil, High Court, late Premchand R. Scholar.
277	"	"	"	Mr. J. Ghosal ...	B.N.League	Landholder.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District or City.	Names of the Delegates	Place or Association which they represent.	REMARKS.
278	Bengal	Bengal	Midnapore	Baboo Debendra Nath Ghose, M.A., B.L.	Midnapore Branch, In. Association.	Pleader.
279	”	”	”	Dr. Jogendra Nath Mitra, M.R.C.P., (London.)	Moysadal Branch, Indian Association	Medical Practitioner.
280	”	”	”	Baboo Jogendra Nath Chatterjee	”	Head Master, Moysadul H. E. School.
281	”	”	”	Baboo Jadu Nath Chakravarti, B.A.	”	Teacher.
282	”	”	”	Baboo Kailas Chandra Samanta	Natshal Gramya Samiti.	Landholder.
283	”	”	”	” Mahendra Nath Samanta		Do.
284	”	”	”	” Priya Nath Das ...		Do.
285	”	”	”	Baboo Kunja Behary Dass ...	Chandrakona	
286	”	”	”	Baboo Adhar Chunder Ghose...	”	
287	”	”	”	Baboo Tara Prasanna Banerjee	Branch, I. Association, Ghatal.	
288	”	”	Contai-Midnapore.	Baboo Baikanta Nath Hazra ...	Parulya Gramya Samiti.	Pleader, Contai.
289	”	”	Hoogly	Baboo Gunga Churn Sircar ...	Hoogly & Chinsura...	Government Pensioner, Late Subordinate Judge.
290	”	”	”	Baboo Mohendra Lal Bose ...	”	Zemindar.
291	”	”	”	Baboo Sidessur Ghosh ...	”	
292	”	”	”	Baboo Jogendra Chunder Mukerjee.	Chinsura Well-wishing Club.	
293	”	”	”	Baboo Ananda Kumar Dutta...	”	
294	”	”	”	Baboo Hem Kumar Dutta ...	”	
295	”	”	”	Baboo Gokul Chunder Mandal	”	
296	”	”	”	Baboo Jogendra Krishna Shome	”	
297	”	”	”	Baboo Bepin Behary Ghosal ...	Hora Branch I. Association.	
298	”	”	”	Baboo Pares Nath Biswas ...	”	Tradesman.

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Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District or City.	Names of the Delegates.	Place or Association which they represent.	REMARKS.
299	Bengal	Bengal	Serampore (Hoogly)	Baboo Kisari Mohan Ganguli, B.L.	Serampore Moffussil Association and also Seebpur Rep. Rate payers' Association.	Pleader.
300	"	"	Hoogly	Baboo Umakali Mookerji, B.L.	Serampore M. Association.	H. C. Pleader.
301	"	"	"	Baboo Lakshmi Kanta Mullick	Singur Branch Indian Association.	Landholder.
302	"	"	"	Baboo Upendra Nath Roy	Panishehala Br. I. Association.	Zemindar.
303	"	"	Howrah	Baboo Jatadhari Haldar	Howrah People's Association.	
304	"	"	"	Baboo Kangali Churn Haldar	Seebpur Association.	
305	"	"	"	Baboo Taranga Nath Rai Choudhuri.	Utterparah Union.	Practical Agriculturist.
306	"	"	"	Baboo Shib Narain Mookerjee	"	Zemindar.
307	"	"	"	Baboo Chundra Kumar Mookerjee, L.M.S.	"	Medical Practitioner.
308	"	"	"	Baboo Jyot Kumar Mookerjee	"	Zemindar.
309	"	"	"	Baboo Hriday Krishna Samanta	Guzurpur Ind. Association.	
310	"	"	"	Baboo Umes Chundra Baitalik	"	
311	"	"	"	Baboo Asutosh Maiti	"	
312	"	"	"	Munshi Nurul Huq	Ulubaria Branch In. Association.	Pleader.
313	"	"	"	Moulavi Soughat Ali	"	Merchant.
314	"	"	"	Baboo Ambika Churn Bose	"	Vakil, High Court and Zemindar.
315	"	"	"	Baboo Sripati Bose, B.A.	"	
316	"	"	Furreedpore.	Baboo Ambica Charan Mazumdar, B.L.	Furreedpore People's Association.	Pleader and Chairman, Furreedpore Municipality.
317	"	"	"	Baboo Jaladhar Sen	Goalundo Branch In. Association	Landholder.

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Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District or City.	Names of the Delegates.	Place or Association which they represent.	Remarks.
318	Bengal	Bengal	Rungpore	Baboo Mohini Mohun Chakravarti, M.A., B.L.	Rungpore	Pleader.
319	"	"	"	Baboo Prasanna Nath Chowdhry.	"	Do.
320	"	"	"	Mr. Samiruddin Ahmed, B.A....	"	Zemindar.
321	"	"	Nelphamari (Rungpore.)	Munshi Rajab Ali Ahmed ...	Nelphamari Association	Pleader.
322	"	"	Dinagepore.	Baboo Debendra Nath Palit, M.A., B.L.	Dinagepore I. A.	Do.
323	"	"	Moorshedabad.	Baboo Baikant Nath Sen ...	Moorshedabad Association.	Pleader, President, Moorshedabad Association.
324	"	"	"	Baboo Gopal Chunder Mookerjee, M.A., B.L.	"	Vakil, Vice President, Moorshedabad Association.
325	"	"	"	Baboo Srish Chunder Basu Sarvadhikari.	"	Zemindar.
326	"	"	"	Baboo Barada Prasad Bagchi...	"	Secretary, Moorshedabad Association and Pleader.
327	"	"	"	Dr. Ram Das Sen ...	"	Zemindar.
328	"	"	"	Baboo Sri Nath Pal ...	"	Do.
29	"	"	"	Mr. K. C. Rai ...	"	
30	"	"	Jangipur (Moorshedabad.)	Baboo Asutosh Ghosh ...	Jangipur Br. I. A.	Pleader.
31	"	"	Jessore ...	Baboo Kali Nath Mookerjee, B.A.	Jessore Indian Association.	Pleader and Landholder.
32	"	"	"	Baboo Jogendra Nath Sen, M.A.	Narail	Principal, Narail College.
33	"	"	"	Baboo Sura Nath Chowdhuri.	Jessore	Zemindar and Member, District Board, Jessore.
34	"	"	"	Baboo Kishori Lal Sarkar, M.A., B.L.	Jhinkergacha Ryots' Association & Jhenida	Vakil, High Court.
5	"	"	"	Baboo Mati Lal Ghose ...	Jhinkergacha Ryots' Association	Joint-Editor, "Amrita Bazar Patrika." Member, District Board, Jessore.

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Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District or City.	Names of the Delegates.	Place or Association which they represent.	REMARKS.
336	Bengal	Bengal	Jessore.	Baboo Nilkamal Dass ...	Jhinkergacha Ryots' Association	Auditor, E. I. Railway.
337	„	„	„	Baboo Amrita Lal Roy ...	„	
338	„	„	Kalia-Jessore.	Baboo Sivendra Nath Gupta, M.A.	Kalia Young Men's Association.	
339	„	„	Khulna ...	Baboo Triguna Charan Sen, M.A.	Senhati People's Association.	Head Master, Ripon Collegiate School, Kidderpore.
340	„	„	„	Baboo Manomohan Sen ...	„	Medical Practitioner.
341	„	„	„	Baboo Indu Bhusan Mazumdar, B.A.	Maheswarpasha.	
342	„	„	„	Baboo Jadu Nath Kanjilal ...	Bagirhat People's Association.	Pleader.
343	„	„	„	Molvi Syud Basaratullah ...	„	Talookdar, Member Local Board.
344	„	„	„	Baboo Beepin Behary Ray ...	„	Pleader.
345	„	„	Backergunge.	Munshi Saududdin Mohamed ...	Barisal People's Association.	Pleader and Zemindar.
346	„	„	„	Baboo Rakhal Chunder Roy ...	„	Zemindar.
347	„	„	„	Mr. P. L. Roy ...	„	Barrister-at-law and Zemindar.
348	„	„	„	Baboo Chandra Kanta Sen, M.A., B.L.	„	Vakil, High Court.
349	„	„	Dacca ...	Baboo Rama Kant Nundy ...	Dacca People's Association.	Pleader, Vice-Chairman, Dacca Municipality.
350	„	„	„	Baboo Kailash Chandra Sen ...	„	Zemindar and Pleader.
51	„	„	„	Khajeh Abdool Aleem ...	„	Zemindar.
52	„	„	„	Syed Abdool Bari ...	„	Ditto.
53	„	„	„	Moulavi Rezauddin ...	„	Ditto.
54	„	„	Rajshaye	Baboo Bhuban Mohan Maitra...	Rajshaye Association.	Zemindar and Pleader, District Court.
55	„	„	„	Baboo Rajkumar Sarkar ...	Digapathia (Nattore)	Zemindar, Member, District Board, Rajshaye.
56	„	„	„	Baboo Mohendra Nath Sanyal, B.L.	Rajshaye	Pleader.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District or City.	Names of the Delegates.	Place or Association which they represent.	Remarks.
357	Bengal	Bengal	Rajshahye	Baboo Syama Charan Roy, B.L.	Rajshaye	Pleader.
358	”	”	Nattore (Rajshahye)	Baboo Jadav Chandra Bishi ...	Nattore People's Association.	Zemindar of Juari (Nattore).
359	”	”	”	Sarat Chandra Bose, B.A.	”	Head Master, Nattore H. School.
360	”	”	”	Dr. Kedar Nath Pal ...	Agricultural Society, Tahitpur.	
361	”	”	Pubna	Baboo Giris Chandra Ray, B.L.	Pubna	Chairman, Pubna Municipality, and Pleader.
362	”	”	”	Mr. A. Chaudhuri M.A. (Cal.) B.A. (Cantab.) L.L.B.	”	Barrister-at-law.
363	”	”	”	Baboo Umagati Roy, B.A. ...	Khetupara Ryots' Association.	
364	”	”	”	Baboo Jadav Chandra Chakravarti, M.A.	Serajgunge British I. Association.	Professor, City College.
365	”	”	”	Baboo Jagadish Chandra Roy	Bagbati Branch I. Association. Serajgunge.	
366	”	”	”	Baboo Jadav Chandra Bhuttacharjee.	Chatmohar.	
367	”	”	”	Baboo Rajani Kant Bhuttacharji	Pechakola.	
368	”	”	Nuddea	Roy Jadu Nath Roy Bahadoor	Nuddea.	Chairman, Krishnagar, Municipality, Zemindar and Indigo-planter.
369	”	”	”	Baboo Jadu Nath Chatterjee ...	Branch I. Association. Krishnagar.	Pleader.
370	”	”	”	Baboo Surendra Nath Pal Chaudhuri.	Nuddea.	Zemindar, Chairman, Ranaghat Municipality.
371	”	”	”	Dr. Athar Ali ...	”	Medical Practitioner, Chuadanga.
372	”	”	”	Baboo Akhay Kumar Mookerjea	Branch I. Association, Krishnagar.	Pleader and Vice-Chairman, Krishnagar Municipality.
373	”	”	”	Baboo Nuffur Chunder Pal Chaudhuri.	Nuddea.	Zemindar, Member, District Board, Nuddea.

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374	Bengal	Bengal	Nuddea.	Mr. B. Pal Chaudhuri, M.I. & S.I. (Lond.)	Nuddea.	Engineer and Zemindar.
375	„	„	„	Baboo Basanta Kumar Chatterjee, B.L.	Katdah Association.	Pleader, Krishnagar, Member of the District Board of Nuddea.
376	„	„	„	Munshi Fakir Ali Miyah ...	„	Landholder.
377	„	„	Ranaghat (Nuddea.)	Baboo Krishna Chandra Ghatak	Branch I. Association, Ranaghat.	
378	„	„	„	„ Akhoy Kumar Ghosh ...	„	Municipal Commissioner.
379	„	„	„	„ Girija Bhusan Datta ...	„	Medical Practitioner.
380	„	„	Chogdah (Nuddea.)	„ Jogendra Narayan Mitra	Chogdah.	Teacher.
381	„	„	Kissengunge (Nuddea.)	„ Jagadischandra Lahiri ...	Kissengunge	Medical Practitioner.
382	„	„	„	„ Nandagopal Bhaduri ...	Mahajan Sabha, Majdia, Kissengunge.	
383	„	„	Bhajanghata (Nuddea.)	Baboo Suresh Chandra Roy, M.A.	Branch I. Association, Bhajanghata.	
384	„	„	Santipore (Nuddea.)	Baboo Bepin Behary Maitra, M.B.	Santipore	Medical Practitioner.
385	„	„	Joyrampore (Nuddea.)	„ Surendra Nath Rai ...	Joyrampore Jnan Pradayini Sabha.	
386	„	„	Tipperah	Baboo Gobind Chunder Das, M.A., B.L.	Tipperah People's Association.	Pleader.
387	„	„	„	Munshi Lateef Hossain ...	Shahbazpur	
388	„	„	„	Munshi Anayat Ali ...	Kansua.	
389	„	„	Chittagong	Dr. Annada Charan Kastagiri...	Chittagong	Medical Practitioner.
390	„	„	„	Baboo Akhil Chunder Sen, M.A., B.L.	„	Vakil, High Court.
391	„	„	Jalpaiguri	Baboo Hara Mohun Das ...	Jalpaiguri	Jotedar and Dewan to the Raikat of Jalpaiguri.

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Number.	Presidency.	Province	District or City.	Names of the Delegates.	Place or Association which they represent.	REMARKS.
392	Bengal	Bengal	Jalpaiguri.	Dr. Tamizuddin Ahmed, M.B., C.M., B.Sc., L.S.A., (London.)	Jalpaiguri.	Medical Practitioner.
393	„	„	„	Baboo Nirmal Chunder Sinha, M.A., B.L.	„	Pleader and Zemindar, Municipal Commissioner and Hon. Secy., Branch I. Association.
394	„	„	Mymensing	Moulavi Hamid Uddin Ahmed, B.L.	Mymensing	Pleader.
395	„	„	„	Baboo Revati Mohan Guha, M.A., B.L.	„	Pleader.
396	„	„	„	Baboo Isan Chandra Gupta ...	West Mymensing Association.	Secretary, West M. Association.
397	„	„	Sherpur (Mymensing.)	Baboo Banwarilal Chaudhuri ...	Sherpur Landholders' Association.	Zemindar.
398	„	„	„	Baboo Giris Chandra Bhattacharjee.	„	
399	„	„	Sakrail (Mymensing.)	Baboo Lalit Chandra Sen ...	Sakrail Hitasadhini Sabha.	
400	„	„	„	Baboo Umbika Prasad Sen ...	„	
401	„	„	„	Baboo Bhabani Kisor Majumdar, B. L.	Husainpore	Pleader.
402	„	„	„	Moulavi Nowshir Ali Khan ...	Tangail ...	Talookdar, Charan, Editor of the "Ahmedi."
403	„	„	„	Baboo Ram Narayan Agasti, B.A.	Kishoreganj	Teacher.
404	„	„	Malda	Baboo Madhu Sudan Sinha, B.A.	Malda Association.	
05	„	„	Burdwan	Baboo Mathura Nath Sanyal, B.A.	Purbasthali Br. I. Association.	
06	„	„	„	Baboo Pramatha Natha Raya...	Purbasthali Hitakari Sabha.	
07	„	„	„	„ Abinash Chandra Nundy	„	

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408	Bengal.	Bengal.	24-Pergunnahs.	Baboo Asutosh Biswas, M.A., B.L.	Suburban Ratepayers' Association. Bhowanipore, and Indian Association. Calcutta.	Pleader, Municipal Commissioner.
409	"	"	"	Debender Chunder Ghosh, B.L.	Indian Union, Calcutta.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Alipore, Hon. Magistrate.
410	"	"	"	Revd. P. M. Mukerjea ...	Russapagla Improvement Association.	Missionary of S. P. G., Taliganj.
411	"	"	"	Nawab Gholam Rubbani ...	"	(Of the Mysore Princes Family.)
412	"	"	"	Baboo Mohendranath Sen ...	"	Teacher, Commissioner S., Suburban Municipality.
413	"	"	"	Baboo Siddeshur Bannerjee ...	Rohora Patriotic Association.	
414	"	"	"	Baboo Baiconto Nath Chowdhuri.		
415	"	"	"	Baboo Nibaran Chunder Chowdhuri.		
416	"	"	"	Baboo Gopal Chunder Mookerjee.		
417	"	"	"	Baboo Sarada Prasad Banerjee	Baranagore Local Committee of the Ind. Association.	Chairman, Baranagore Municipality.
418	"	"	"	Baboo Sasipada Banerjee ...	Baranagore Working-men's Club and Ratepayers' Association.	
419	"	"	"	Baboo Issury Charan Mookerjee	Baranagore Ratepayers' Association.	Zemindar.
420	"	"	"	Baboo Jogendra Nath Bose, M.A., B.L.	"	Vakil, High Court.
421	"	"	"	Baboo Bijay Lall Dutt ...	Arbalia J. V. Sabha.	
422	"	"	"	Baboo Surendra Chundra Basu		

LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District or City.	Names of the Delegates.	Place or Association which they represent.	REMARKS.
423	Bengal.	Bengal.	24-Pergunnahs.	Roy Jotendra Nath Chowdhuri, B.A.	Taki Br. I. Association, Indian Association, Calcutta and Baranagore Local Committee of the I. Association.	Zemindar.
424	,,	Chota Nagpore.	Hazaribagh	Rai Jadu Nath Mookerjee ...	Hazaribagh & Ranchi.	Government Pleader.
425	,,	,,	Purulia	Pundit Prannath Saraswati, M.A., B.L.	Purulia	Vakil, High Court.
426	,,	Orissa	Balasore	Kumar Baikunta Nath Dey ...	Balasore National Society & British Indian A.	Zemindar, late Member, Bengal Legislative Council, &c. &c. &c.
427	,,	Assam	Cachar ...	Baboo Deno Nath Dutta ...	Cachar	Manager of C. N. J. Stock Co., Ld.
428	,,	,,	Shillong...	Mr. Kali Kanta Barkagti, B.A.	Shillong A.	
429	,,	,,	Dibrugarh	Mr. Devi Charan Barua, B.A.	Upper Assam A.	
430	,,	,,	,,	Mr. Gopi Nath Bardoloye, B.A.	,,	
431	,,	,,	Nowgong	Mr. Satya Nath Borah, B.A. ...	Ryots' A. Nowgong.	Tea Planter.
432	,,	,,	Sylhet ...	Baboo Bepin Chunder Pal ...	Sylhet	Landholder.
433	,,	,,	,,	Baboo Joygobind Shome, M.A., B.L.	,,	Vakil, High Court. Editor, "Christian Herald."
434	,,	,,	Silchar ...	Baboo Kamini Kumar Chanda, M.A.	Habiganj People's A. Silchar.	Landholder.
			Names of D	*elegates omitted inadvertently from*	*the foregoing*	*List.*
394A	,,	Bengal	Mymensing	Baboo Keshub Chander Acharjee Chowdhry.	Mymensing	Zemindar.
412A	,,	,,	24-Pergunnahs.	Baboo Sirish Chunder Basu ...	Russapagla Improvement Assn.	Asst. Secy. of the Association.

(Besides these Delegates, several Visitors—the Honorable Mr. Ranade, Rajah Lutchman Singh, the Honorable Mr. Baij Nath (Chief Justice, Indore) and others—were present, and though taking no part in the Public Proceedings, assisted the Delegates at some of their informal committees with their advice.)

(N.B.—This list, it is feared, is not quite *complete as to names even, since it is believed that some few gentlemen left without recording their names. It is* certainly *incomplete as to many whose names* are *recorded, owing to gentlemen failing to note their academical degrees, professions, and other particulars*

APPENDIX II.

PAPERS RELATING TO THE ELECTION OF DELEGATES.

(Extracts from Newspapers.)

ARRAH.

The 13th December, 1886.

A MEETING of the people of Shahabad was held here on Sunday, the 12th instant, for the purpose of electing delegates for the National Congress to be held at Calcutta. It was presided over by Mr. Shurfuddin, Barrister-at-Law. Great enthusiasm prevailed. Mahomedans took as much part as Hindus in its proceedings, and both showed the greatest earnestness. The mass, that had mustered two thousand strong, heard with rapt attention the proceedings of the day which were all conducted in Urdu.

The President opened the meeting with a brief but a succinct and clear statement of the aims and objects of the National Congress. He showed that, with the growth of free citizen ideas, corresponding alterations must be made in the mode of the Government to suit those ideas. Such ideas cannot be stifled, but must have a natural outlet. The National Congress purposes to attain those ends by constitutional agitation. He then called upon Baboo Rughubuns Sahai, B.A., B.L., to move the first resolution which runs thus :—

"I.—That this meeting entirely sympathises with the aims and objects of the National Congress to be held during Christmas holidays at Calcutta, and deems it desirable to send representatives to the said Congress."

The mover dwelt upon the advantages of representative Government, the establishment of which is one of the chief aims of the Congress. He said that a foreign Government, however strong and well-intentioned, could never enter into the real wants and wishes of the country, and that a representative Government would have the double advantage of removing popular grievances and satisfying the people.

Baboo Koilash Chunder Bannerji, M.A., B.L., in seconding the resolution, exhorted the people to see their ancient *punchayet* system re-established on a broader and more scientific basis in a representative form of Government. He likened district representation to feeders of a large river, which without them would dry up. The National Congress must be fed by district representation to be effective.

Baboo Chaturbhuj Sahai moved the second resolution which was as follows :—

"II.—That some gentlemen be sent as delegates to represent this District at the said Congress."

He said that the money of India is expended in pageants and shows and unprofitable wars, while millions of Indian people are starving for want of daily bread. Those millions who are not consulted or cared for would have to bear the burden of these departures from morality.

Moulvi Lukman Hyder was right glad to find that the time he had up to that time thought to be far distant was near at hand—the time which would see India governed for the Indians.

Baboo Kandhji Sahai, B.A., B.L., in support of the resolution, assured the meeting that the Congress was in the highest degree constitutional, and it would serve as a safety-valve to the State in times of trouble. He showed that it could never be considered dangerous to the State, in that it always had hopes of its objects being realized, while one destitute of such hopes could do worse out of utter desperation.

Baboo Jadu Nath Sahai moved that a Select Committee be formed of the following gentlemen for the purpose of selecting the delegates: Baboo Raj Rajeswari Prosad Singh, Rai Jaiperkash Lall Bahadur, Baboo Jadu Nath Sahai, Baboo Chaturbhuj Sahai, Baboo Symlanund, Baboo Kandhji Sahai, Baboo Bhagwan Dass, Baboo Udaichand, Baboo Baijnath Sahai, Baboo Baijnath Singh, Baboo Sikher Chand, Moulvi Lukman Haider, Moulvi Kazizohur Alum, Moulvi Mirza Ismail, Baboo Koilas Chunder Bannerji and Baboo Thakurpershad Singh.

Baboo Kandhji Sahai, B.A., B.L., was then authorized on behalf of the meeting to hold necessary communication with the Secretary to the National Congress on the subject of receiving representatives from this district.

In the end a telegram and a letter from Baboo Raj Rajeswari Prosad Singh of Surojpura were read out. He was to have attended the meeting, but was kept away owing to an unforeseen circumstance.

CONJEEVERAM.

A PUBLIC meeting was held here in the Cloth Bazar Choultry, Hodsenpett, for nominating delegates to be sent to the National Congress. Notices had been circulated by Mr. C. T. M. Appavo Mudaliar, Rao Sahib, Municipal Councillor. Precisely at the hour, 4 P.M., the proceedings of the meeting began, upwards of 500 people assembling in the Hall, while a greater number had to remain outside. The public kept good order, and the spectacle witnessed that day is without any precedent in the history of this town. Among those present were all the resident Municipal Councillors, inclusive of the Chairman, being 15 in number out of the whole body of 20 members, members of the District Board and the several Taluq Boards of the District, Zemindars, Shrotriemdars and other landholders, managers of temples and other orthodox Brahmins, influential merchants of the town and of the district, Schoolmasters, and, in fact, representatives of every section of the community were vieing with each other in the display of enthusiasm for what the whole assembly accepted as their one common and sole object. The proceedings began, the assembly voting unanimously with acclamations to the Chair our respected citizen M. R. Ry. Namasivaya Chettiar, Rao Sahib, Municipal Councillor, and Honorary Magistrate. The President elect, in a short speech, explained the object of the meeting and sat down amidst applause. Then Mr. A. Ranga Charriar, Chief Mirassidar of Damal, and member of the Taluq Board of Chingleput spoke at considerable length about the object of the meeting, the subjects to be discussed at the Congress and the importance and necessity of sending delegates to represent the views of the public of the District at the Congress.

The next sperker P. R. Sumbanda Mudaliar Rao Bahadur, Chairman of the local Municipal Council and also Civil apothecary, impressed upon the meeting the importance of introducing technical education, one of the subjects to be discussed this year by the Congress, its useful effect upon the declining manufacturing industries of India in competition with English manufactures. He also convinced the meeting of the necessity of forming an Association in the town and other parts of the district calculated to train the people politically. Then Mr. Krishnasamy Thatha Chariar Rao Sahib, Dharmakarta of the Sri Dewarajaswamy's Temple, member of the District Board and of the Local Municipal Council, spoke also of the importance of the Congress and of the meeting sending its delegates. He suggested that the Congress should take up in hand the subject of the abolition of the income-tax, which he said operated very harshly as direct taxation, the deficit owing to such abolition being made up by means of indirect taxation. Then, Mr. M. Y. Ranga Chariar, Vakil of the District Court, explained to the audience the necessity of the remodelling of the Legislative Council on the lines laid down in the third resolution of the last year's Congress at Bombay, and how it was practicable to elect such representatives. Then Mr. Kristnasamy Thathachary proposed that Mr. M. Y. Ranga Chariar be appointed delegate to represent the district at the Congress. As an amendment of this proposition Mr. C. M. Ranga Iyengar, Mirasidar, proposed the following gentlemen be also appointed delegates: M. Viraragava Chariar Avergal, a Mirasidar of the Taluq; M. Shunmuga Moodaliar, Zemindar of Nallatur; M. G. Sriranga Chariar, B.A. and B.L., Vakil, High Court; A. Ranga Chariar, of Damal. The last proposition as amended was seconded by S. Sreenivasa Iyer, Rao Sahib, Head Master of the Pacheappa's High School.

The last named Mr. A. Ranga Chariar of Damal, pleaded ill-health, but on the gentlemen then present expressing surprise that such a patriotic gentleman should now care more for his health than his country, he very willingly withdrew his plea and enthusiastically declared acceptance of his appointment. The whole proposition was carried unanimously.

It was next asked by M. R. Ry. Narasima Charriar if he will be allowed to propose the payment of the delegates' expenses by public subscription, but the delegates expressing for themselves and for their fellows their unwillingness to accept any such payment, the matter was dropped. The meeting then dispersed with a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

HOSPETT.

A PUBLIC meeting of the inhabitants of Hospett Taluq, Bellary District, was convened under the auspices of the "Ryots' Sabha," Hospett, in the Hospett Town Hall and Reading Room, on the 4th December, 1886, for the purpose of appointing delegates to represent Hospett Taluq at the National Congress.

Mr. K. Venkat Rau Garu, Row Saib, 1st Grade Pleader and Municipal Councillor, Bellary, delivered an able address, and the following resolutions were passed by the meeting :—

I. Resolved that Mr. C. H. Goud Row Sahib, Member of the District Board, Mirasidar, and an Honorary Magistrate and Mr. K. Venkat Row, Garu Row Sahib, Landholder in the Taluq, and 1st Grade Pleader, Bellary, be nominated delegates of this Taluq at the ensuing National Congress to be held at Calcutta.

II. That a vote of thanks be given to the chairman and the lecturer.

VIZAGAPATAM.

A PUBLIC meeting was held at Vizagapatam on the 6th instant, and Mr. Krishna Murthi and Pudupeddi Venkannah were elected delegates.

BANKIPORE.

29th November, 1886.

A MOST crowded meeting of the residents of Bankipore and Patna, numbering probably nearly one thousand persons, called by the Behar People's Association, was held at Bankipore yesterday. Syed Tajammal Hossein Khan, son of Nawab Valayat Ali Khan Bahadur, C.I.E., presided. Resolutions were passed unanimously in favour of the introduction of a representative element into the government of this country. Delegates to the National Congress elected. Mr. Shurfuddin, Barrister-at-Law, moved the first resolution. A very large number of Mahomedan gentlemen were present. Great enthusiasm prevailed.

JUBBULPORE.

23rd December, 1886.

AN influential meeting of the residents of this town was held on the 21st instant, under the auspices of the Hitcarni Sabha, to consider what steps should be taken to represent the interest of the people of the Central Provinces in the various questions that are to be discussed in the National Congress to be held in Calcutta during Christmas. Among others we noticed the following gentlemen, Seth Bullubh Dass Rai Bahadur, Seth Behary Lal Khazanchi, Seth Gouri Dass, Seth Bhuban Mohun, Seth Omrao Singh Chowdhry, Gontia Aman Singh, Zemindar, Baboo Brojendra Nath, Pleader, Baboo Kailash Chunder, M.A., Baboo Nanhak Chand, B.A., Baboo Behary Lal, B.A., Baboo Janoki Prashad, Pleader, Baboo Gopal Prashad, B.A., and nearly all the other residents of the town, who command weight and influence. Seth Behari Lall Khazanchi opened the meeting by explaining the object which had brought them together, after which the following resolutions were moved :—

I.—That we fully sympathize with the object and proceedings of the National Congress to be held in Calcutta during the ensuing vacation. Proposed by Seth Behari Lal Khazanchi, and seconded by Chowdhry Omrab Singh and Mr. Abdul Gafur.

II.—That one or two delegates be sent to the National Congress to represent the interest of the people of the Central Provinces in the various important public questions that are are to be discussed there, and a Committee be formed of a few gentlemen to raise subscriptions and to arra sending delegates as early as possible. Proposed by Gontia Aman Singh and seconded by Mr. Gopal Swamy.

ALLAHABAD.

19th December, 1886.

A GREAT public meeting of the residents of Allahabad took place here to elect delegates to represent this ancient city in the forthcoming National Congress to be held in your city. The meeting was a crowded one, and attended by almost all the respectable and influential citizens. Seldom have I seen such an orderly and enthusiastic meeting. It was presided by the much respected vakil Pundit Bishambhar Nath. The meeting was addressed by the Chairman, Pundit Vyasji, the reputed Kaviraj, Mr. Crowley of Messrs. Crowley & Co., Dr. Brojendra Nath Bannerji, the late celebrated physician of this city, and now of your own town, who has lately come up here to treat a rich patient, Pundit Sunder Lal, Pleader, High Court, Pundit Madan Mohun Malavya, B.A., Munshi Kashi Pershad, Vakil, Mr. T. N. Ghose, Thakur Mahabir Pershad and others. The following delegates were unanimously elected: Lala Ram Charan Dass, the Rothschild of Allahabad, Baboos Charu Chunder Mitter and T. N. Ghose, Pundit Madan Mohun Malavya, B.A., Mr. Abdul Majid, Barrister-at-Law, Mr. Mahmud, Vakil, High Court, Mr. Newal Behary Bajpai and Munshi Kashi Proshad, Vakil. Mr. Crowley offered to pay the fare of any of the delegates who required pecuniary help. I am glad that two Mahomedan gentlemen are going to represent this city.

HOSHANGABAD.

21st December, 1886.

THE following is a report of the proceedings of an important meeting, held to-day at 8 A.M., in the hall of the Zillah School, Hoshangabad, to consider the propriety of sending delegates to represent the inhabitants of the district in the National Congress to be held at Calcutta on the 27th, 28th and 29th of this month:—

Present: The leading residents of the town of Hoshangabad, the members of the local Bar and many others.

I.—Proposed by Baboo Behary Lal Bose that Seth Dalchand do take the chair, seconded by Pundit Sukhdeo Prasad, and carried *nem con.* The object of the meeting being explained by Baboo Kalidas Chowdhry, it was resolved that delegates be sent to Calcutta to represent the District of Hoshangabad.

Proposed that Baboos Behary Lal Bose and Khetter Mohun Bose, Pleaders of the District, be selected as delegates to the National Congress.

II.—That these gentlemen be sent as delegates.

III.—That copies of the resolution be sent to the Secretary to the National Congress, to the *Indian Mirror*, and to the *Nyay Sudha.*

MYLAPORE.

IN pursuance of a notice issued by the Secretary to the People's Association of Mylapore there was a meeting of the public of Mylapore in the Athenæum Hall at 6 P.M., on Sunday, the 21st instant. There were present: Dewan Bahadoor R. Raghunatha Row; Messrs. R. Balajee Row, B.L.; C. Mahadeva Iyer, B.A. and B.L.; D. S. Runga Charriar, B.A. and B.L.; M. Sreenivasa Row, B.A. and B.L.,; T. R. Ramanatha Iyer, B.A.; M. Swaminatha Mudaliar; P. S. Sevaswami Iyer, B.A. and B.L.; S. Kalayna Rama Iyer, B.A. and B.L.; S. Ramasawmi Iyengar, B.A. and B.L.; K. Narayana Row, B.A. and B.L.; V. Kristnaswami Iyer, B.A. and B.L.; P. R. Sundarum Iyer, B.A. and B.L.; and many others. Mr. Swaminatha Mudaliar, the largest landholder in the Municipal Division, was voted to the chair. Mr. R. Balajee Row explained at considerable length the objects of the National Congress and proposed that the Honorable S. Subramania Iyer be requested to represent the public of Mylapore in the National Congress which meets in December at Calcutta. he proposition was seconded by Mr. P. S. Sevaswami Iyer. Several speakers dwelt upon the necessity for every town and village sending a delegate to the Congress. The proposition was then put to the vote and carried unanimously. It was resolved that the request be communicated to the Honorable S. Subramania Iyer. With a vote of thanks to the chairman, the meeting dispersed.

WALLAJANUGGUR.

IN accordance to a notice circulated by the Wallajanuggur Hindu Brethren Association, a public meeting was held on Sunday, the 21st instant, at 9 A.M., in the premises No. 26, Bhuvarna Chetty Street, for the purpose of electing a delegate to represent the people of Wallaja Taluq in the ensuing National Congress.

People of every description, namely, merchants, landholders, vakeels and several others were present. Mr. Canche Cangauna Chetti Garu, a landholder at Wallajah, was unanimously voted to the chair. Mr. P. Govindarajulu Mudaliar explained in Tamil the object of the meeting. Mr. S. Etherajulu Naidu explained in full the object of the National Congress. Then the Chairman rose and asked the audience to elect a delegate, whereupon Palnati Etherajulu Chetty, a landholder, proposed that Mr. Chethambadi Subba Naidu Garu, 1st Grade Pleader, should be elected as a delegate to attend the National Congress. The proposition was seconded by Mr. Kulvaraya Pillai, the Head Master of the H. B. M. School, and supported by Mr. Ponnusawmi Mudaliar, a merchant, and unanimously carried.

It was suggested by S. Alwar Naidu to raise a fund for the defrayal of the expenses of the delegate. The suggestion thus made was objected to by Palnati Etherajulu Chetti who said that such a patriotic gentleman as Mr. C. Subba Naidu Garu would decline to accept any money for his expenses and offer his services for the public good gratuitously. It was then resolved that the name of the delegates should be communicated to the Secretary to the Madras Mahajana Sabha and that of the Indian National Congress. Thereon, the audience and the Chairman rose and prayed God for a few minutes for the happy success in the long journey* of our delegate and of all the delegates of the Presidency. The meeting dispersed with a vote of thanks to the delegate and the Chairman.

BALLIA.

THE *Indian Union* says: "A well-attended meeting, which included nearly all the *raises* and educated gentry of the town, was convened at Ballia in the N. W. P. on the evening of the 18th instant under the auspices of the Ballia Institute, to elect delegates for the Calcutta National Congress. Baboo Sribalabh Dutt, a leading member of the local Bar, was in the chair. Munshi Parmeshari Dayal explained to the audience at some length the objects of the National Congress. He dwelt also on the blessings of the people of India enjoyed under the British Raj and on the importance of constitutional agitation conducted in a moderate and loyal spirit. He was followed by Pundit Indira Dutt, Upadhyaya, M.A., who, in a short impressive speech, exhorted these present to call to mind the glories of the ancient *Aryavarta*, and to unite in the common bond of brotherhood for the furtherance of the best interests of their country. Five gentlemen were nominated by the unanimous vote of the meeting as delegates to be present at the conference, *viz.*, Baboo Sribullabh Dutt, Vakil and Chairman of the evening, Pundit Indira Dutt Upadhyaya, M.A., Baboo Bhugwan Din Ray and Baboo Padma Deva Narain Pande and Deo Narain Singh, well-known zemindars and *raises* of the district. The first three gentlemen have expressed their willingness to join the Congress as desired by the Committee; the other two, who were unavoidably absent from the station on the day the meeting was held, have been requested by letter to accept the invitation of the meeting. The proceedings were conducted entirely in the vernacular, and all present evinced the utmost interest and enthusiasm."

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* A journey of 2,000 miles.

DACCA.

16th December, 1886.

A CROWDED and enthusiastic meeting of the Hindu and Mahomedan inhabitants, such as has rarely before been here seen, was held last evening at the Jagannath College Theatre, at the instance of the People's Association, Khajah Mahomed Azghur presiding. The following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

I.—The reconstitution of the Indian and Bengal Legislative Councils on the elective basis.

II.—The examination of the Indian candidates for the Civil Service in India, and raising the maximum age to 23, leaving it optional with the successful candidates to proceed to England or not.

III.—The appointment of a Commission of Enquiry into the coolie grievances in Assam.

IV.—The separation of the Judicial from the Executive functions of the Magistrates.

V.—The appointment of delegates to the coming National Congress.

VI.—Sympathy was expressed with the aims of the Congress, and an entire approbation of the principles enunciated in the pamphlet entitled the *Star in the East*. The following gentlemen were appointed delegates: Syed Abdul Bari, Khajeh Abdul Alim, Moulvi Riajuddin, Baboos Ramakanta Nundy, Kailas Chunder Sen and Kaliprosunno Ghose.

SYLHET.

17th December, 1886.

AN influentially-attended meeting representing all sections of the native community was held here yesterday at the premises of the Murary Chand High School, to consider the desirability of sending delegates to the ensuing National Congress. Baboo Nova Krishna Roy, Dastidar, Zemindar, was in the Chair. Among those present we noticed Baboo Girish Chunder Roy, Zemindar, Tea-Planter and Proprietor of the Girish School and Murari Chand School; Baboo Loke Nath Surma, Zemindar, Tea-Planter and Honorary Magistrate; Baboo Dulal Chunder Dey, B.L, Vice-Chairman of the Municipality and Law Lecturer; Baboo Ananda Kiser Dutta Roy, B.L., Tara Kisore Chowdhry, M.A., B.L., Radha Binod Dass, Romes Chunder Bose, Sham Kisore Sen, Moulvi Masadar Ali, Pleaders, Judge's Court; Maulavi Abdul Zalil, Zemindar; Moulvi Abdul Karim, late a Sub-Registrar; Baboos Radha Govinda Dass and Mohendra Chunder Dass, landowners; Baboo Prosunno Kumar Guha, merchant; Baboo Radha Nath Chowdhry, Editor "*Paridasak*'; Baboo Janoki Nath Sen, Head Master, National Institution; Baboo Prosunno Kumar De, B.A., Teacher, Murari Chand School; Baboo Radha Nath Das, Nava Kisore Dass, Sarat Chunder Dutt, Sita Mohun Dass, Pleaders, Munsiff's Court; Baboos Sundari Mohun Dass, M.B., and Biseswar Sen, Medical Practitioner. After the objects of the meeting were explained by Baboo Dulal Chunder De, B.L., in a neat speech, resolutions to the following effect were passed unanimously amidst much enthusiasm:—

I.—That this meeting expresses its hearty sympathy with the National Congress. Moved by Moulvi Masadar, Ali, Pleader Judge's Court, seconded by Baboo Sundar Mohun Dass, M.B.

II.—That in view of the rapid progress of education and enlightenment in this country, this meeting is of opinion that it has now become necessary, alike in the interests of India and England, to reconstitute the Legislative Councils upon the following lines:—

(*a.*) That no less than two-thirds of the whole Council should be elected members chosen by local bodies.

(*b.*) That the Council thus formed should have the right of interpellation.

Moved by Moulvi Abdul Zalil, Zemindar, seconded by Moulvi Abdul Karim, and supported by Baboos Prosunno Kumar Guha and Radha Nath Chowdhry.

III.—That this meeting is of opinion that the maximum age of the Civil Service Examination should be raised to 23 years, and that the open competitive examination should be held in India, simultaneously with that in London.

Moved by Baboo Janoki Nath Sen, seconded by Babu Ananada Kisore Dutt Roy, and supported by Baboo Romes Chunder Bose.

IV.—That this meeting takes this opportunity of expressing its full confidence in the Bengal National League, and pledges itself to support it by every legitimate means that lies in its power.

Moved by Baboo Dulal Chunder De, seconded by Baboo Sarat Chunder Dutt, and supported by Baboo Sita Mohun Dass.

V.—Resolved that the following gentlemen be selected as delegates to represent the Sylhet public at the forthcoming National Congress: Baboo Prosunno Kumar Guha, Baboo Radha Nath Chowdhry, Baboo Joy Gobinda Shome, M.A., B.L., and Baboo Bipin Chunder Pal.

Moved by Baboo Tara Kisore Chowdhry, seconded by Moulvi Nasarullah, and supported by Baboo Prosunno Kumar Dey.

VI.—Resolved that the proceedings of this meeting be sent to the Press for publication.

Moved by Baboo Loke Nath Sarma, and seconded by Baboo Nava Kisore Dass.

The meeting dispersed with a vote of thanks to the Chair.

CHITTAGONG.

25th December, 1886.

A PUBLIC meeting was held on Monday, the 18th instant, at 6 P.M., at the instance of the Chittagong Association, to elect delegates to the forthcoming National Congress, and to ascertain the views of the general public on the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils and Covenanted Civil Service age question. Baboo Kamala Kanta Sen, B.L., High Court Pleader, President of the Chittagong Association, was unanimously voted to the Chair. He gave a succinct view of the questions to be discussed at the meeting, and, in a short and neat speech, impressed upon the audience the necessity of the re-formation of the Legislative Councils as at present constituted, and the raising of the age of the candidates for the Covenanted Civil Service.

The following resolutions were passed and carried unanimously:—

I.—That having regard to the rapid progress of education and enlightenment, and the growth of public spirit in these provinces, this meeting is of opinion that it has now become urgently necessary, alike in the interests of the people of India and for the honor of English rule, that the Legislative Council of Bengal should be reconstituted in a manner more in harmony with the popular aspirations, the requirements of the time, and the necessities of the Government.

Proposed by Baboo Satis Chunder Sen, B.L., Pleader, seconded by Baboo Gagan Chand Chowdhry.

II.—That, in the opinion of this meeting, the Legislative Council of Bengal should be reconstituted upon the following lines:—

(*a.*) That the principle of representation should be recognised, and that the elected members of Council, being not less than two-thirds of the whole Council, should be chosen by local bodies, such as the Municipalities and the District Board of each district, to represent the different districts, and by the Chamber of Commerce, the Trades' Association, the British Indian Association, the University of Calcutta, the Calcutta Municipality and other established public bodies of similar reputation.

(*b.*) That the members of the Council thus formed should have the right of interpellation.

(*c.*) And, further, that the Provincial Budget should be laid before the Council and be discussed and passed by the Council.

Proposed by Baboo Romes Chunder Sen, B.L., Pleader, seconded by Moulvi Abdul Hossein, B.L., Pleader.

III.—That this meeting takes this opportunity of expressing its full confidence in the Bengal National League, and pledges itself to support it by every possible means in its power, and begs that the League will address the Government for the reconstitution of the Legislative Council according to the terms of the resolutions adopted by this meeting.

Proposed by Baboo Durga Das Dutt, Medical Practitioner, and seconded by Moulvi Ahmed Ulla.

IV.—That in the opinion of this meeting, it is resolved that the age of the candidates for the Covenanted Civil Service be raised at least to 21, and the examination be held simultaneously both in England and India.

Proposed by Baboo Raj Kumar Dutt, seconded by Baboo Kasi Chunder Gupta.

V.—That the meeting is of opinion that Chittagong should be represented in the forthcoming National Congress in Calcutta, and requests Baboo Aukhil Chunder Sen and Dr. A. C. Khastgir, Mahomed Ibrahim and Bodial Alam to go as delegates to the said Congress.

Proposed by Munshi Kajim Ali, and seconded by Baboo Aukhil Chunder Nundy.

The meeting was a grand success. Every one present took a lively interest in the proceedings of the meeting. The meeting lasted for about two hours. The meeting was of a representative character. Hindus, Mahomedans, zemindars, merchants, in fact all sections of the community, were fairly represented in the meeting.

COIMBATORE.

In pursuance of a notice circulated by the Secretaries of the Sudasa Darma Ratchani Sabha (The People's Association), a great public meeting was held on the 8th instant at the Native High School Hall, Coimbatore. M. R. Ry. V. Cooppoosawmy Iyer Avl., a well-known leading native gentleman, 1st Grade Pleader, and President of the 1st Bank having been voted to the Chair. Messrs. Kastury Ranga Iyengar, B.A., B.L., High Court Vakeel, Vigianthra Row Avl, Native High School, and others spoke in English, and S. P. Narasimulu Naidu spoke in Tamil of the objects of the Indian National Congress. Then the following gentlemen were elected to be deputed as delegates of Coimbatore to the Indian National Congress: Messrs. V. Cooppoosawmy Iyer, Kostury Ranga Ivengar, B.A., B.L., Annasowmy Row, Bujanja Row, B.A., Satagopa Charlu, M.A., Thiruvengadasamy Mudaliar, Vejiaranga Mudaliar, V. Krishna Row, H. Rama Row, Coottianna Mudaliar, Mahamed Kahan Sahib, Kunna Gounder, Mahamed Hosein Markair, S. P. Narasimmulu Naidu. After a vote of thanks to the Chairman and the Managers of the Native High School the meeting dispersed.

CALICUT.

A general public meeting of the citizens of Calicut was held at the Mananjara Municipal School House on Saturday, 6th November, 1886, for the purpose of delegating a gentleman to the forthcoming National Congress at Calcutta. There were present: Messrs. D. Manekjee, Koya Assu, Koya Haji, L. A. Rama Pattar (Merchants and Municipal Councillors), Kasturi Chund Ram Chund (Merchant), E. Subramanya Pillay (Merchant), S. Varadarajayyar (Pleader), Jum Saji Framji, Nanabai Bomanshah (Merchants), B. Ramunni Menon (Pleader and Municipal Councillor), Ismail Saheb, Chutra Choj Sett, M. Kadrli Koya, M. Abdulla Koya Haji (Merchants), C. M. Rarichan Muppan (landlord and Municipal Councillor), K. Choyikutti (landlord), H. Sankaranarayana Aiyar, P. A. Krishna Menon (Pleaders), C. Kunhiraman Menon, B.A. (Editor of the *Kerala Patrika* and Municipal Councillor), V. Karunakara Menon, Sivaramakrishnayyer, N. Subramanya Aiyar, K. R. Ramasawmy Aiyar, K. Krishna Menon, B.A. (Pleaders), S. Anantakrishnayyar, B.A. (Teacher), T. Kunhikutti Ali, M. Kunhamad (Merchants), D. Ganpat Rau, B.A., G. Appa Rau, N. G. Srinivasa Rau (Proprietors of the Native High School and Teachers), Visvanatha Aiyar, B.A., T. Panchapatesayyar, B.A. (Teachers), A. N. Anantaramayyar, B.A., B.E., T. Narayana Menon (Pleaders), and a great many more. M. R. Ry. L. A. Rama Pattar Avergal, a leading Brahmin merchant, having been voted to the Chair, opened the proceedings as usual. Mr. P. A. Krishna Menon, a 1st Grade Pleader, made an appropriate speech in Malayalam to explain to the audience the object of the National Congress and the urgent necessity there is for sending representatives to these annual Conferences from every part of India to make these Conferences thoroughly representative. Messrs. Varadaraja Ayyar and K. R. Ramasawmy Iyyar followed him with short speeches on the same subject.

(1.) It was proposed by Mr. P. A. Krishna Menon, seconded by Mr. S. Varadaraja Ayyar, and carried unanimously, that a delegate be sent to represent the citizens of Calicut at the National Congress to be held at Calcutta in December next.

(2.) Mr. C. Kunhiraman Menon, Editor and Proprietor of *Kerala Patrika's* offer to represent Calicut at the Congress, was accepted with thanks amid loud acclamations.

(3.) Proposed by Mr. H. Sankara Narayanayyar, seconded by Mr. K. Achutan Nayar, and carried unanimously, that Messrs. L. A. Ramayyar, Koya Assu, Koya Haji, Abdulla Koya, D. Manekji, C. M. Rarichan Muppan, and P. A. Krishna Menon, do form themselves into a Committee to give the necessary instructions to the delegate selected.

(4.) Proposed by Councillor Mr. B. Ramunni Menon, seconded by Mr. A. N. Anandaramayyar, and carried unanimously, that the expenses of the delegate be borne by public contributions.

A subscription list was at once opened, and a little over Rs. 100 were subscribed on the spot.

(5.) Resolved that a Sub-Committee composed of Messrs. L. A. Rama Pattar, C. M. Rarichan, Subramanya Pillay and P. A. Krishna Menon be appointed to collect the contributions.

A vote of thanks was then passed to the Chairman and the delegate Mr. Kunjiraman Menon. The meeting then terminated amidst shouts of applause.

NATTORE.

28th November, 1886.

At a well attended general meeting of the People's Association, held this evening, resolutions for reconstructing the Legislative Councils on a representative basis, raising the limit of age to 23 years of candidates for the Civil Service and holding simultaneous examinations in India and England were unanimously adopted. Six delegates were elected to the National Congress.

GHATTAL.

26th December, 1886.

A meeting of the people of Ghattal Sub-Division was held at Khirpie on the Friday, the 26th December. There were present Baboos Prosunno Kumar Bannerji, Zemindar; Girish Chunder Pahari, Zemindar; Priya Nath Roy; Peary Laul Ghose, Government Pleader; Grish Chunder Chatterji, Zemindar; Umesh Chunder Ghose, L. L., &c., &c. The following resolutions were passed:—

I.—That this meeting desires to place on record that the Legislative Council of this country, as at present constituted, does not suit the condition of this country, because its members generally come from a class who are absolutely ignorant of the wants and requirements of the general population of this country, therefore, this meeting earnestly entreats the Government to substitute election for nomination.

II.—That this meeting having heard with sincere delight that a National Congress will be held at Calcutta to advance the political rights, and to ameliorate the condition of the people of this country, this meeting gladly appoints Kumar Binoya Krishna Bahadur, the young patriotic and philanthropic zemindar, and a scion of a great family of Bengal, as delegate to represent the Association in the said National Congress.

III.—That a copy of the above resolutions be sent to the *Statesman* and the *Indian Mirror* for publication, and to Baboo Surendra Nath Banerjee, the Secretary of the Indian Association, and to Kumar Benoya Krishna Bahadur for information.

HALISHAHAR.

26th December, 1886.

The following is an abstract of the proceedings of a general meeting of the Halishahar Good Will Fraternity in Sub-Division Baraset, held on the 25th instant for the purpose of expressing the sympathy of the whole community with the Bengal National League:—

I.—That this meeting considers the reform and expansion of the supreme and existing local Legislative Councils by the admission of a considerable proportion of elected members essential, and that such representative Councils should have some voice and control over the finance of the country.

II.—That this meeting has full confidence in, and sympathy with, the aims and objects of the Bengal National League.

III.—That this meeting is of opinion that the subjects to be discussed at the ensuing National Congress are of vital importance to the well-being of the country, and that the Halishahar Good Will Fraternity will, as far as it lies within its power, co-operate with the Bengal National League in furtherance of its objects.

IV.—That some delegates from the Fraternity be deputed to attend the National Congress.

V.—That copies of these resolutions be forwarded to the Local Government, Secretary to the Bengal National League, and the Editor of the *Indian Mirror*.

RANAGHAT.

1st December, 1886.

The following is a copy of the resolutions, passed unanimously at a meeting of the Ranaghat Improvement Society, held at the Rivers Thompson Hall on the 28th November, 1886, Baboo Makhan Lal De, B A., in the Chair:—

I.—That in view of the necessity of combined agitation for political rights, the Association, hitherto known as the Ranaghat Improvement Society, be affiliated with the Indian Association, Calcutta, and be styled "Branch Indian Association, Ranaghat," and that the following gentlemen be appointed office bearers:—

Baboo Surendra Nath Pal Chowdhry, *President;* Makhun Lal De, B. A., and Baboo Ram Chunder Ghose, L.M.S., *Vice-Presidents;* Baboo Krishna Chunder Ghattak, *Secretary*, and Baboo Junendra Nath Pal Chowdhry, *Joint Secretary.*

II.—That a representative public meeting of this sub-division be convened at an early date to consider the desirability of addressing Government on the subject of the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils, as in the opinion of this meeting the introduction of a representative element into these Councils has become necessary.

III.—That Baboos Girija Prosunno Dutt, Aukhoy Kumar Ghose, (Municipal Commissioners), and Krishna Chunder Ghattak be requested to represent this Association at the forthcoming National Congress to be held at Calcutta on the 28th proximo, and that the nominations made by the Krishnaghur Association for this district be approved.

IV.—That a copy of the foregoing resolutions be forwarded to the Secretary, Indian Association, Calcutta.

GUDIVADA.

At a public meeting held at Gudivada, Kistna District, on the evening of the 31st October, 1886, the following resolutions were unanimously passed :—

1. That the meeting fully sympathises with the working of the Mahajana Sabha at Madras, and with the objects of the National Congress held at Bombay last year.

2. That a Branch of the District Branch of the Mahajana Sabha be constituted here for furnishing the necessary information concerning the wants of this part of the district.

3. That M. R. Ry. Singaraju Venkata Subbarayadu Pantulu Garu be requested to represent them at the Anniversary of the Mahajana Sabha and at the National Congress to be held at Calcutta.

4. That M. R. Ry. Raja Kamadana Venkata Narasimharaogar, an ex-zemindar of this place, be thanked for his kindness in presiding on the occasion and for consenting to be the President of this branch in future.

GOOTY.

In pursuance of a notice issued by the Secretary of the Gooty People's Association, a large and influential meeting of Mahomedans, Hindus of all classes, and native Christians was held on the premises of the Sanscrit School, at 6-30 P.M., yesterday. Among those that were present there were Messrs. K. Runga Roa, Bujanga Roa, J. Yellappah Papasastrulu, N. Sreenivasa Roa, A. Ambajee Roa, Setharama Roa, T. Ramachendra Roa, B.A., B.L., District Munsiff, Kistamurthi Iyengar, B.A., Assistant Director of Revenue Settlement, K. Singarachariar, Deputy Inspector of Schools, C. N. Subramania Iyer, Overseer, Angadi Karibasabha, Ambati Ramasawmy Chetty, Bara Sahib, Chandana Kasim Sahib, N. Sanna Reddy, R. Venkata Reddy, Belluli Iyanna, Lemboo Seshanna, Cheman Naik Sahib, Vahamia Sahib, B. Iyappah Reddy, Mr. I. J. Martin and Amhed Sahib, Native Doctor and many others.

On the motion of Mr. T. Ramachendra Row, B.A., B.L., seconded by Mr. Kistamurthi Iyengar, B.A., Mr. K. Runga Rad, 1st Grade Pleader and a ryot of this District, was unanimously voted to the Chair.

The Chairman opened the meeting with a short speech making allusions to the excellence and necessity of the National Congress, and calling upon the meeting to appoint a few delegates on behalf of Anantapur District to attend the Congress to be held this year in Calcutta. He said that the district that sent two delegates to the first Congress in Bombay should not fail to send delegates to the second Congress in Calcutta, and that he was happy to see that people of all classes and creeds of this small historical town should have met together, and taken the lead in appointing delegates on behalf of this district. He called upon the Secretary of the Local Association to read the letter received from Mr. J. Ghosal, Secretary to the Reception Committee, Calcutta.

The Secretary read the letter, and added that he had every reason to believe that the nominations made by the meeting would be approved by the people of Anantapur, Pennukondah and other towns in the district.

Mr. C. Madhva Row, Pleader, moved the following resolution in a short speech, remarking that the delegates they were appointing that day were worthy of their unqualified support and confidence, and that he knew that they would prove themselves to be their worthy representatives.

That Messrs. Y. Chondapah, Pleader, ryot, and the Chairman of the Gooty Union; M. Nagesa Roa, Pleader, ryot, and a member of the Gooty Taluk Board; and P. Kesava Pillai, Pleader, ryot, and a member of the Anantapur District Board, be appointed as the delegates of Anantapur District to the National Congress to be held in Calcutta in December next.

Mr. Cheman Naik Sahib, on behalf of the Mahomedans, seconded it in a Hindustani speech.

Mr. J. Yellappah, ryot, and an influential old member of the Gooty Bar, supported it in a Telugu speech.

It was also warmly supported by Messrs. Angadi Karibasappa in Canarese, Ramasawmy Chetty in Telugu on behalf of Comaties, and Mr. I. J. Martin in English on behalf of Native Christians.

Mr. P. Kesava Pillai moved a rider to the proposition " that Mr. Chenna Reddy, an influential ryot, and a member of the Taluk Board, be also appointed as a delegate from Anantapur District."

Mr. T. Ramchendra Rao seconded the rider.

The Chairman having put the proposition with the rider to the meeting, it was warmly and unanimously passed as the substantative resolution of the meeting. After several other gentlemen having passed a few remarks, Mr. T. Ramachendra Roa, B.A., B.L., proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman in an eloquent Telugu speech, exhorting the people to take more interest in public matters, to form themselves into Associations, and to represent their wants and grievances to Government. He insisted that Government was not so much to blame as the people themselves, and assured them that Government will meet their wishes if only properly and constitutionally urged.

Mr. Singara Chariar having seconded the vote, the meeting dispersed in mutual good feeling and sympathy.

MHOW.

25th December, 1886.

The Central India Association held a public meeting to-day. They have delegated Mr. Mohendra Nath Chatterji, and Seth Gungaram Chunilal to represent the Association at the National Congress. The delegates will start to-morrow.

DIBRUGHUR.

25th December, 1886.

The Council of the Upper Assam Association have appointed Baboos Gopinath Berdoloi, B.A., and Debi Churna Baru, B.A., delegates of the Association at the forthcoming National Congress.

MYSADUL, MIDNAPORE.

28th December, 1886.

At an influential meeting of the Branch Indian Association the following resolutions were unanimously adopted :—

I.—The reconstitution of the Legislative Councils in India on a representative basis is absolutely necessary.

II.—The Parliamentary enquiry into the working of the Indian Administration has become highly necessary for the better government of the Indians.

III.—The members of the Secretary of State's Council should not be taken largely from the returned Civilians from India. A reconstitution of that Council should immediately be effected, if it be not abolished altogether.

IV.—The examination of the Indian candidates for the Civil Service be held in India simultaneously with that held in England, and the maximum age of the candidates be raised to 23 years, leaving it optional with the successful candidates to proceed to England or not.

V.—That, considering the present financial condition of India, it is absolutely necessary that the military expenditure be reduced.

VI.—The Indians have given such tangible proofs of their loyalty so often that the Arms Act should immediately be repealed to increase the love for, and confidence of, the people in the British Government.

VII.—The sooner the old Theebaw is restored to his kingdom the better, or if it be found impracticable to do so some other Native Prince of Burmah should be invested with the government of Burmah under the British protection.

VIII.—In a country like India, the income-tax should never have been introduced. Besides the working of the tax is so oppressive to the people that the Government should try its best to put a stop to this crying evil.

IX.—Sympathy was expressed with the aims of the National Congress, and the following gentlemen were appointed delegates: Dr. J. N. Mitra, M.R. C.P. (Lond.), and Baboos Jogendra Nath Chatterji and Jodu Nath Chuckerbutty, B.A.

BAREILLY.

The following is an extract from the proceedings of the annual meeting of the Bareilly Institute, held on the 21st December, 1886:—

3. Read a letter from the Honorary Secretary, N. W. P. and Oudh Association, asking the Institute to send some members to join the National Congress, Calcutta. Resolved unanimously that Rai Durga Prosad Rai Bahadur, Munshi Bishen Lal M.A., Nawab Abdul Aziz Khan and Syed Mahomed Ashfak Hossein be deputed to represent the Bareilly community at the coming National Congress, and that a copy of this resolution be sent to the Secretary of the said Congress and the *Indian Mirror*.

TANJORE.

At a very large meeting of the Tanjore People's Association attended by representative Mirasidars of Combaconum, Mayavaram, Nannilam, Tiruturaipundi, Mannargudi and Negapatam, held in the Porter Town Hall, Combaconum, on 7th November, 1886, the following resolutions were passed:—

1. That the Association present an address of welcome to the Viceroy on his approaching visit to Tanjore.

2. That a memorial be drawn up and presented to His Excellency the Viceroy on the occasion of his visit to Tanjore on 7th December next on the subject of remission of kist for Fusly 1214 in this district.

3. That Messrs. S. A. Saminatha Iyer Avl., S. K. Annasami Iyer Avl., Sivaswami Odiar Avl., Rungaswamy Mudaliar Avl., Sinna Marakayarmalmiyar Avl., Vencatarama Iyer Avl., Kothandarama Iyer Avl., Pattamangalam Narayanasami Iyer Avl., Srinivasa Iyer Avl., Sambasiva Sastriar Avl., Thiruvaugadam Pillai Avl., and the Chairmen of the Municipalities in the district, be requested to proceed to Calcutta and represent the Association at the National Congress to be held there on the 28th December next.

SHOLINGUR.

The Secretary writes: An enthusiastic meeting was held in the Reading-Room here on the 26th instant. Mr. E. Venkatasamy Raju was voted to the Chair. The objects of the Congress having been explained, it was proposed by the Chairman that Mr. C. Subbiah Naidu, a 1st Grade Pleader of the Munsiff's Court, should be requested to proceed to Calcutta to represent this Association. Mr. Subbaraya Pillay, Pleader, seconded this proposition, and this being supported by Mr. Tiruenkata Charyar, Head Master, was unanimously carried. Mr. N. Venkata Row, Vakil, then suggested that his expenses for going to and returning from Calcutta should be defrayed by the Association, but he, the chosen delegate, declined the offer with thanks. A vote of thanks to the Chairman concluded the proceedings.

BOMBAY.

At the meeting of the Bombay Presidency Association it was resolved that the following gentlemen be asked to attend the National Congress at Calcutta, which takes place on the 27th, 28th and 29th instant: The Hon. Dadabhai Naoroji, the Hon. V. N. Mundlik, C.S.I., the Hon. K. T. Telang, C.I.E., Messrs. Javerilal Umiashunker Yajnik, N. G. Chandavarkar, Sorabjee F. Patell, Dinshaw E. Vacha, Dinshaw P. Kanga, Shamrao Vithul, G. Nilkanth, R. M. Syani, Kazi Mahomed Ismail Chilmai, Lallubhai Ambalal Desai, Vizbhookandas Atmaram, Dajeo Abajee Khare and Golabdas Bhaidas, Vakil.

CUDDALORE.

A public meeting was convened at the Government College at Cuddalore on the 1st November, 1886, in order to consider the steps to be taken to reconstruct the Gadilum Bridge, to send delegates to Calcutta in order to attend the National Congress to be held there in December, and to raise contributions in aid of the National Fund. The following gentlemen were present:-

M. Rajarathna Moodaliar, S. Devanayaga Moodaliar, Avergal, M. Arumuga Pillay, T. Govindasawmy Naidu, S. Doroisawmy Aiyer, C. S. Sami Iyengar Avergal, B.A., B. Kristnaiyer Avergal, B.A., T. Ramasawmy Moodeliar Avergal, S. Manikam Moodaliar Avergal, O. Radhakristnaiyer Avergal, C. Kristnaiengar Avergal, E. Sivachidambara Chettiar Avergal, C. Dorasawmy Moodaliar Avergal, Subbarayalu Reddiar Avergal (Villapuram), V. M. Ramasawmy Iyer Avergal, P. Vadivalu Moodaliar Avergal, K. Bashyam Iyengar Avergal, B.A., M. Minakshisundra Siva Iyer Avl., B.A., A. Manika Moodaliar Avl., B.A., N. Paramasiva Iyer Avl., B.A., M. Ramasawmy Iyer Avl., B.A., K. Kandasawmy Moodaliar Avl., C. Munisawmy Moodaliar Avl., S. Palani Appa Moodaliar Avl., S. V. Cooppusawmy Sastriar Avl., B.A., K. Sambasiva Iyer Avl., B.A., P. T. Sadagopahcharriar Avl., M. Veerasawmy Moodaliar Avl., B. Ramalinga Iyer Avl., A. Ragavacharriar Avl., Sreenivasa Chettiar Avl., M. Arunachala Chettiar Avl., V. Cooppusawmy Naidu Avl., K. Krishnasawmi Moodaliar Avl., S. Ruthna Moodaliar Avl., C. Chinnasawmi Iyer Avl., T. Veerasawmy Naidu Avl., C. Kolandavalu Moodaliar Avl., Arumuga Moodaliar Avl., Sabapathy Chettiar

Avl., S. Rungasawmi Moodaliar Avl., C. Muthia Chettiar Avl., T. A. Hari Row Avl. and many more.

Mr. M. Rajarathna Moodaliar was unanimously voted to the Chair.

The Chairman opened the proceedings by stating that the gentlemen present were aware, from the notice circulated, of the purpose for which the meeting was convened. He would say a few words on each of the subjects under consideration. In the first place, the fall of the Gadilum Bridge is a public calamity. It has entailed on the people considerable inconvenience. Public traffic is much impeded and great difficulty is experienced in consequence. The Municipality with its limited resources can hardly maintain itself, and, therefore, cannot undertake such an expensive work. It is, therefore, necessary that application should be made to Government for the restoration of the Bridge. Going to the second subject, the National Congress is to be held at Calcutta in December, with the object of holding a conference in the interests of the country. In that Council the wants and requirements of the people will be fully discussed, with a view to their being communicated to the British Parliament. The advantages resulting therefrom cannot be overstated. It is, therefore, necessary that we should send delegates to represent this district in the Congress. Lastly a Fund has been set on foot at Madras for National purposes. So many things are done in furtherance of public objects, the Fund in question is applied towards defraying its expenses. It is, therefore, proper that we also do something in aid of the Fund. Everything will be stated at length in connection with the respective propositions for the consideration of the meeting.

Then Mr. Sadagopa Charriar, Editor of the Local Tamil paper, addressed the meeting at some length. He first dwelt on the measures adopted by the Mahajana Sabha at Madras in furtherance of the public cause, thereby pointing out the necessity of supporting the Institution in all possible ways. It was necessary also, he said, that delegates should attend the Congress at Calcutta.

Proposed by S. Manika Moodaliar Avergal, Town Councillor, seconded by M. Arumuga Pillay Avergal, Town Councillor, and carried unanimously that a memorial be addressed to Government on the subject of the re-construction of the Gadilum Bridge.

Proposed by B. Ramalinga Iyer Avl., District Court Pleader, seconded by T. Ramasawmy Moodaliar Avl., Manager, and carried unanimously that delegates be sent from this district to attend the National Congress at Calcutta.

Proposed by M. Arumuga Pillay Avl., seconded by M. Veerasawmy Moodaliar Avl., Town Councillor, and carried unanimously that S. Devenayaga Moodaliar Avl., B. Kristnaiyer Avl., Muthia Chettiar Avl., Mahomed Moral Merkayer Avl., T. Govindasawmy Naidu Avl., and M. Rajarathna Moodaliar Avl., be deputed to represent this district at the National Congress.

Proposed by S. Sawmy Aiyengar Avl., seconded by O. Rathakristna Aiyer Avl., District Court Pleader, and carried unanimously that M. Arumuga Pillay Avl. be requested to join the delegates.

Proposed by M. Arumuga Pillay Avl., seconded by Govindasawmy Naidu Avl., and carried unanimously that contributions be made here in aid of the National Fund at Madras.

Proposed by S. Rungasawmy Mudaliar Avergal, seconded by B. Kristnaiyer Avergal, and carried unanimously that a Fund be raised for the purpose of this Sabha, and one-half of it be sent to Madras in aid of the National Fund.

Proposed by B. Kristnaiyer Avl., seconded by S. Dorasawmy Iyer Avergal, District Court Pleader, and carried unanimously that the Secretaries of this Sabha be Treasurers, and be authorized to take steps to co-operate with the heads of the community for this purpose.

After a vote of thanks to the Chairman, and the Head Master of the College for having allowed the meeting to be held in the College premises, the meeting dispersed.

BURRA BAZAR POLITICAL ASSOCIATION.

On the 24th December, 1886, the Burra Bazar Political Association, *i.e.*, the Raj Niti Sabha, was instituted by the leading members of the Burra Bazar. The enlightened and leading members of all the communities residing in Burra Bazar were present.

The main object of the meeting was to assist the National Congress in its deliberations, which cannot but be good both for the public and the Government, and to represent its own views on various subjects of general interest.

The meeting was held at 12 noon, and several subjects were discussed up to 2 P. M. Baboo Nahar Malji Lohia was elected Chairman, and the proposal for the establishment of the Sabha was made by Pundit Sadhanandji, seconded by Pundit Dhebi Sahaiaji, and supported by Baboos Siva Bukshiji, Surajmalji, Bilasiramji and other gentlemen present.

The objects of the Congress, the necessity of co-operation in politics and commerce in Burra Bazar, &c., were all carefully explained by Pundit Sadanandji. He further proposed the necessity of sending representatives to the Congress.

The Chairman then proposed Pundit Jwala Nath Sarma, Secretary, Bharata-maitra, Mandala, Burra Bazar, as their delegate to the Congress.

Pundit Gobind Naryanji commented upon the utility of this body, and lucidly pointed out that patience and perseverance were the true price of success. He further considered that the greater the strength of the representatives the better for the public. Thereupon the meeting proposed Pundit Sadanandji together with Pundit Jwala Nath Sarma as representatives for the Congress, and the proposition was carried with applause.

The meeting concluded with a vote of thanks to the Chair.

BELLARY.

In pursuance of a notice circulated by the Secretary of the "Native Club," a public meeting was held at 7 P.M., on the 13th instant, for the purpose of appointing delegates to represent the people of the Bellary District in the ensuing National Congress. All castes, trades and professions were fully represented. Mr. G. Ruthna Chennepah, a leading merchant of Bellary, was voted to the Chair. Mr. D. Kristna Charlu, 1st Grade Pleader, explained in Telugu the object of the meeting. Messrs. P. C. Ananta Charlu (High Court Vakil), M. Vasudeva Naidu and A. Sabbapathy Modelliar addressed the meeting on the object of the National Congress, its doings of the last year and the advantages to be derived therefrom in future. The Chairman then said that for a purpose like this, all patriotic gentlemen should offer their services without even a request from any quarter.

The following gentlemen were then elected as delegates of the Bellary District to the Congress, *viz.*, Mr. Vasudeva Naidu Garu Rao Sahib (1st Grade Pleader and Municipal Councillor), Sindigi Marisiddapah Garu (Merchant and Manager of the *Vizia Dhwaja*, a Canarese paper newly started), R. Venkata Narasiah Garu (Merchant), K. Venkata Rao Garu (1st Grade Pleader), Abdul Karim Saib Khan Sahib (Merchant and Municipal Councillor), A. Gopalswamy Naidu Garu (Contractor), Mollagavali Sunjeeva Reddi Garu (Landholder), Joharapuram Seetharama Reddi Garu (Landholder), C. E. Runganadam Modelliar Avl. (Medical officer), A. Sabbapathy Modelliar Avl., Rao Bahadur (Merchant, Landholder and Municipal Chairman). A suggestion was then made for raising subscriptions to meet the costs of the delegates, but the gentlemen delegates declined to accept any money for their expenses and offered their services gratuitously. Their offer was accepted with loud acclamation. It was resolved that the names of these delegates be communicated to the Secretaries of the Mahajana Sabha and the Bengal National League. The meeting was closed with a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

RUSSAPAGLA.

At a special meeting of the Russapagla Improvement Association, held on Friday, the 24th December, 1886, it was resolved :—

1.—That this Association expresses full sympathy with the National Congress which will meet in Calcutta during the Christmas holidays.

II.—That this meeting appoints the Rev. P. M. Mukerji, Nawab Golam Rubbani and Baboo Mohendra Nath Sen as its delegates to represent the Russapagla Improvement Association at the sittings of the Congress.

CALCUTTA.

There was an enthusiastic meeting of the Hindustanis of Calcutta at the Natmandir of the late Rajah Sir Radha Kant Deb Bahadur, K.C.S.I., on Saturday, the 25th instant, at 3 P.M., to select a delegate to the National Congress. Pundit Sada Nund Misra, Editor of *Sudhanidhi*, was unanimously elected delegate.

PENUKONDAH.

In pursuance of a notice circulated by the Penukondah Telugu Newspaper Club, a public meeting was held on the 13th instant in Ramasawmy Temple, when M. R. Ry. G. Narasinga Rao Garu, B.A., a popular Pleader and Vice-President of the Taluq Board, was unanimously voted to the Chair. There were present: Messrs. Chacravarthi Iyengar, Shrotriamdar, Pleader and a member of the Taluq Board; Wahamiya Sahib, Jaghirdar; Jagannayaculu Naidu, B.A., Clerk, Head Assistant Collector's office; Sreenivasacharlu Garu, Pleader and Landlord; Hanumayya Garu, Shrotriamdar and Abkari Contractor; Bysani Subbiah Chetty Garu, Merchant; V. Hanumantha Rao Garu, Taluq Sheristadar; Vankatasamiah Garu, Pleader and ryot, Kristnamacharlu Garu, Darmakarta, Kocherum Temple; M. Paupa Rao Naidu, ryot and Clerk of the Head Assistant Collector's office; Jagannadahraju Garu, Hospital Assistant; Ramanna Naidu Garu, Deputy Inspector of Vaccination; Dasappa Garu, Pleader and Landlord; Venkoba Rao Garu, Pleader and Landlord; Hanumantha Reddi Garu, ryot and Village Munsiff, and others representing all sects and sections of the community. The Chairman opened the meeting by explaining the necessity and advantages of the National Congress, and called upon the audience to appoint delegates to represent Penukondah Division of Anantapur District. Mr. Paupa Rao Naidu then briefly touched upon the various grievances which are within the reach of the Congress. The following resolutions were unanimously passed :—

1. Resolved that Mr. V. R. Chacravarthi Iyengar be requested to represent this division of the district at the National Congress to be held at Calcutta and that the nominations made by the Gooty Association for this district be approved.

2. Resolved that this meeting fully sympathizes with the objects of the National Congress held last year at Bombay and the working of the Mahajana Sabha at Madras.

3. Resolved that a vote of thanks be given to Mr. Chacravarthy Iyengar for having accepted the honor of being a delegate to proceed to the National Congress and the meeting wish him a safe and happy journey.

4. Resolved that copies of proceedings of this meeting be communicated to the delegates appointed by the Gooty Association and to newspapers. A vote of thanks was then passed to the Chairman, and the meeting dissolved amidst shouts of applause.

NELLORE.

At 6 P.M., on the 13th instant, a public meeting was held in the hall of the Nellore Reading Room. The attendance was large, Mr. S. Narayanasamy Chetty, B.A., was voted to the Chair. He explained in Telugu the object of the meeting; Mr. M. Butchia Puntulu, the Editor of the *Hindu Reformer*, who is now here, addressed the meeting in Telugu for about an hour. The Chairman again delivered an enthusiastic speech. Then the assembly elected their delegates to represent them at the National Congress which is to meet at Calcutta on the 28th proximo.

Proposed and carried unanimously that Messrs. S. Narayanasamy Chetty, B.A., F. T. Ward, District Court Pleader, and M. Venkatasubba Row, Munsiff Court Pleader, be requested to represent the people of this district at the National Congress.

BERHAMPORE.

A public meeting was convened under the auspices of the Berhampore Association to select delegates to the Calcutta Congress. Proposed and carried unanimously that the following gentlemen be requested to attend the coming Congress: M. R. Ry. Pakula Gopala Rau Patrudi Garu, B.A., Pleader of the District Court of Ganjam, and Abdul Kareem Sahib Bahadoor, an influential merchant of Berhampore, both natives of the district, extensive Landholders and Town Councillors.

ROHORA.

16*th December*, 1886.

At a general meeting of the Rohora Patriotic Association at Rohora near Barrackpore, attended by the whole of the intelligent and educated portion of the community, the following resolution was passed :—

That this Association, while expressing its cordial sympathy with the Calcutta National Congress, requests Baboo Gopal Chunder Mukerji, M. B., Baboo Nibaran Chunder Chowdhry, Baboo

Baikunto Nath Chowdhry and Baboo Siddessur Bannerji to attend the said Congress as delegates from this Association."

RAJAMUNDRY.

At a general meeting of the Literary and Debating Association, Rajamundry, held on the 7th November, 1886, resolved:—

1. That M. R. Ry. N. Subbarau Pantulu Garu, B.A. and B.L., be voted to the Chair.

2. That M. R. Ry. Singaraz Subbarayalu Garu, B.L., of Masulipatam, be requested to represent Rajamundry at the next National Congress, Calcutta, and that of the next Mahajana Sabha, Madras.

SURAT.

The following gentlemen have been elected by the *Surat Sabha*, at a general meeting, to attend the second National Congress to be held at Calcutta on the 27th December:—

Rao Saheb Dolatrai Surbhai Desai, B.A., LL.B. (London), Barrister-at-Law, President of the Sabha and a Municipal Commissioner; Messrs. Hosangji Burjorji, B.A., LL.B.; Manchha Shankar Jinauram, B.A., LL.B., Rattiram Durgaram Dave, B.A., Chhaganlal Thakur Dass Modi, B.A., Narbheram Mansukhram, Abdul Rehoman Ganibhai, and Messrs. Harilal Harshadrai, Dhrum B.A., LL.B., Manchersha Palonji Kaikobad, Head Master, Mission School, Surat, Honorary Secretaries.

MADRAS.

A general meeting of the Mahajana Sabha was held at 6 P.M., on Saturday, the 27th instant, at the Mahajana Office for the purpose of appointing delegates to the National Congress to be held at Calcutta on the 28th, 29th and 30th December. There were present the Zemindar of Devacottah, Messrs. P. Rangiah Naidu, P. Somasundaram Chettiar, C. Etherajulu Naidu, K. Krishna Row, S. Biligiri Iyengar, P. Etialwar Naidu, P. Theagaraja Chetti, C. V. Sundaram Sastri, K. P. Sankara Menon, S. Ramasawmy Mudaliar, G. Subramania Iyer, Gopal Nair, C. Ponurangam Pillay, Gulam Dastagiri Saheb, Waljee Laljee Sait, Abdul Kareem Saheb and many others. Mr. P. Rungiah Naidu, the President of the Sabha, being voted to the Chair, Mr. P. Anunda Charlu explained briefly the object of the meeting. He said that some time in the month of October at the instance of the Central Committee at Calcutta a circular letter was addressed to all the affiliated Associations and to all the corresponding members of the Sabha by the Committee to send delegates to the Congress. In response to that letter, in some towns public meetings were held for the purpose, while in other places the local Associations held general meetings and delegates to represent them at the ensuing Congress were appointed. Now it is the business of the Sabha members to appoint delegates to the Congress. After some discussion among the members present, M. R. Ry. P. Somasundaram Chettiar proposed that Messrs. P. Rangiah Naidu, Hon'ble S. Subramania Iyer, P. Kottasawmy Dever, M. Jaga Raw Pillay, S. Ramasawmy Mudaliar, C. Singaravalu Mudaliar, T. Namberumal Chettiar, A. Danakoti Mudaliar, G. Subramania Iyer, P. Anundacharlu, R. P. Subramania Iyer, M. Samasawmy Naidu, M. E. Sriranga Chariar, Abdul Rajman Sett and Waljee Laljee Sait represent this Sabha from Madras as its delegates at the forthcoming National Congress. This proposition being seconded by Mr K. P. Sankara Menon was put to vote and adopted. It was further resolved that the Central Committee at Calcutta be informed that the following gentlemen who were nominated at meetings held in several towns in the Presidency will also attend the Congress as delegates from their respective towns and Associations:—

Ganjam District.—Berhampore—Mr. Pakala Gopal Row Patrudu Garu, B.A., Pleader, District Court and Landholder and Town Councillor, Berhampore; Mr. Abdul Karim Saheb Bahadur, Influential Merchant, Landholder and Town Councillor, Berhampore. Chicacole—Mr. Mukunda Row Naidoo Garu.

Urlam Estate.—Mr. Venkatasawmy Naidoo Garu.

Soudam Estate.—Mr. Jivaravyya Sastri Garu.

Vizagapatam District.—Vizagapatam Town—Mr. A. Suriauarayana Row Pantulu Garu, B.A., Pleader.

Godavery District.—Rajamundry—Mr. Row Saheb Singaraju V. Subbaroyudu Garu, B.L., Vakil, High Court, Masulipatam.

Kristna District—Bezwada, Gudiveda and Kristna—Mr. Row Saheb Singaraju Venkatasubboroyudu Garu, B.L., Vakil, High Court, Masulipatam.

Nellore District.—Nellore—Mr. S. Narayanasawmy Chetti Garu, B.A., Pleader, District Court, and Municipal Councillor, Nellore; F. T. Ward, Esq., Pleader, District Court, Nellore; Mr. M. Venkatasubba Row Garu, Pleader, Munsiff's Court.

Bellary District.—Bellary—Mr. Row Saheb; A. Sabapathy Mudaliar Avl., Merchant, Chairman, Municipal Council, Bellary; Mr. K. Venkata Row Garu, Pleader, 1st Grade, Bellary; Mr. Kurnool Kareem Sahib Avl., Bellary; Mr. Sindigi Marisiddappa Garu, Merchant, Bellary; Mr. T. Chidambara Row Garu, B.A.

Anantapur District—Gooty—Mr. Y. Chondappa Garu, Pleader and Ryot and Chairman of the Gooty Union; Mr. N. Negasa Row Garu, do. do. and Member of the Gooty Taluq Board; Mr. P. Kesava Pillai Avl., Pleader and Ryot, and member of the District Board, Anantapur.

Kurnool District.—Penukonda—Mr. V. R. Chackravarthi Iyengar, Avl., Pleader, Penukonda.

North Arcot Dt.—Walajanaggar—Mr. Chedambadi Subba Naidoo Garu, 1st Grade Pleader.

Chittore.—Mr. Gopala Chariar Avl, B.A., 1st Grade Pleader; Mr. C. Srinivassa Chariar Avl., B.A.

Chingleput Dt.—Chingleput—Mr. M. Y. Ramanuja Chariar Avl., Pleader, Dt. Court.

South Arcot Dt.—Cuddalore—Mr. S. Devanayaga Mudaliar Avl., Landed Proprietor and Chairman, Municipal Council; Mr. C. Kristna Iyyer Avl, Pleader, Dt. Court, and Municipal Councillor and Member of the Local Fund Board; Mr. Muthayya Chettier Avl., Merchant and Municipal Councillor; Mr. Mahomed Nairad Marocayar Avergal, Merchant and Municipal Councillor; Mr. T. Govindasawmy Naidoo Garu, Landed Proprietor; Mr. M. Rajarathna Mudaliar Avergal, late Railway Engineer; Mr. M. Arumugam Pillai Avergal, Landholder and Municipal Councillor.

Tanjore Dt.—Combaconam—Mr. S. A. Saminatha Iyer Avl., Pleader, Dt. Court, and the President of the Tanjore People's Association.

Coimbatore Dt.—Coimbatore—Mr. S. P. Narasimhalu Naidoo Garu, Editor and Proprietor of the "Coimbatore Crescent."

Malabar Dt.—Calicut.—Mr. C. Kunhi Raman Menon Avl., B.A., Editor and Managing Proprieter of the "Kerala Patrika" and Municipal Councillor.

The next subject that was brought before the Sabha was the consideration of the subjects to be discussed at the Congress. Mr. P. Anunda Charlu said that the Committee of the Sabha some time ago met to consider the matter, and have resolved to send a list of subjects to be discussed at the Congress. He said that the Central Committee issued a circular to all the public bodies in India to suggest subjects for the consideration of the Congress, and the Committee of the Sabha have accordingly prepared a list. When all the members of the Congress meet at Calcutta, the subjects sent up by the several Associations in India will be considered, and the members present will decide what subjects should be omitted and what discussed at the Congress. After some discussion about the matter Mr. J. M. Nallaswami proposed that the subjects proposed by the Committee of the Sabha be approved by the general body. This being seconded by Mr. C. V. Sundaram Sastriar was passed.

With a vote of thanks to the Chairman the meeting was dissolved.

PUBNA.

19th December, 1886.

A PUBLIC meeting convened by the Pubna Branch Indian Association was held this day to elect delegates to the National Congress. After much discussion the following gentlemen were elected:—

1. Moulvi Mahomed Ahmed Chowdry.
2. Baboo Grish Chunder Roy, B.L.
3. „ Kally Charan Sen.
4. „ Jadav Chandra Chuckerbutty.
5. „ Mohini Mohan, Dr., M.A.
6. „ Parbati Nath Kar.
7. Munshi Amir Ally.
8. „ Rahimuddin.

The members of the Pubna Indian Association also appointed Mr. A. Chaudhri, B.A., LL.B. (Cantab.), Barrister-at-Law, as one of their delegates to the National Congress. Mr. Chaudhri is a member of an old zemindar family of that district, having considerable influence there.

LUCKNOW.

10th December, 1886.

The following gentlemen have been formally elected as delegates from the Jalsai Tahzib, Lucknow, to the ensuing National Congress:—

1. Nawab Syed Raza Ali Khan.
2. Baboo Abinash Chunder, B.A., Pleader.
3. M. Hamid Ali Khan, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.
4. Baboo Sriram, M.A., Pleader.
5. Baboo Bansilal Singh, Pleader.
6. Pundit Pran Nath.

MIDNAPORE.

13th December, 1886.

A MEETING of the Executive Committee of the Local Indian Association was held yesterday at the Public Library Hall, when it was resolved to send the following gentlemen as delegates to represent the Association at the coming Congress:—

1. Baboo Bepin Behary Dutt, B.L., Chairman of the local Municipality.
2. Baboo Debendro Nath Ghose, M.A., B.L., Vakil.
3. Baboo Rughunath Dass, M.A., B.L., Municipal Commissioner.
4. Baboo Krishna Lal Mozumdar, Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.

KISSENGUNGE.

22nd December, 1886.

The Mahajans' meeting was held here to-day to move the Government for the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils. Baboos Nunda Gopal Bhaduri and Jogodish Chunder Lahuri were appointed delegates to the National Congress. Great enthusiasm prevailed.

MR. CHUNILAL LULLUBHAI PAREKH, the Vice-President of the Arya Guyan Vatdhak Sabha, having been elected its delegate to attend the ensuing Calcutta National Congress, left Bombay by last Monday's mail train.

AT a meeting of the Managing Committee of the Arbalia J. V. Sabha, held on the 19th December, the following resolutions were unanimously carried out:—

I.—That this meeting expresses cordial sympathy with the Second National Congress, which will meet in Calcutta during the Christmas holidays.

II.—That this meeting appoints Baboo Bejoy Lal Dutt as its delegate to represent the Arbalia J. V. Sabha at the sittings of the Congress.

NAGPORE.

23rd December, 1886.

MESSRS. GANGADHAR RAO CHITNAVIS, Gopal Hurry Bapu Rao Dada and Abdul Aziz, elected at the late public meeting, have left this station for Calcutta to attend the National Congress as delegates from Nagpore.

[*And a vast number of similar brief telegraphic notices, which it is useless to reproduce. A great number of meetings published no reports whatsoever of their proceedings, merely telegraphing to the Calcutta Committee: "To-day great public meeting, A. B. C. & D. elected delegates, arrive Calcutta, such an hour, such a date." Only in the Madras Presidency were full reports of all the meetings immediately published in the local Press; many of these Madras Reports have been reproduced above; the rest are similar.*]

APPENDIX III.

SUBJECTS FOR THE NATIONAL CONGRESS.

CALCUTTA NO. 1.

To

THE SECRETARY OF THE   COMMITTEE.

DEAR SIR,

ONE of the most important subjects that will engage the attention of the National Congress this year will be the best system under which practical effect can be given to the third resolution of last year's Congress.

It is proposed to accept the eleven provisional rules, printed as an Appendix to the "Old Man's Hope," as a *basis for discussion*, and it is hoped that before joining the Congress at Calcutta, all delegates will consider carefully, in consultation with their constituents, the alterations in and additions to these rules necessary to convert them into a really satisfactory and sufficient code.

Since in each Province the circumstances differ, it will be specially necessary for all provincial delegates to make up their minds as to the exact bodies and classes to whom in their own province the Franchise should be extended.

Although the unofficial Europeans and Eurasians have not, thus far, except perhaps in Southern India, joined the movement to any appreciable extent, we must not overlook their rights in propounding a national scheme, and must in any such scheme provide for the due election by these communities of fitting representatives.

Certain general principles may be suggested for consideration.

Probably no official should be allowed a vote, firstly, because the official element will be sufficiently represented; and, secondly, because such persons could hardly exercise the Franchise with sufficient independence. This however will not exclude from the Franchise *quondam* officials who have left or have retired from Government service on pension.

So far as may be, our scheme should provide for the representation of the intellect and the wealth of the country.

It seems probable that in each province, or at any rate in some provinces, it will be best to constitute an "Electoral College" as it is termed, for the selection of members of the Provincial Councils. It might in some provinces be arranged, for instance, that the municipalities of every town of 25,000* inhabitants and upwards should elect one member for every 25,000 souls they represent, to sit in this college; that all the graduates of its university should elect one member, for every 200* graduates still on its rolls; that all persons paying income-tax on an income of say Rs. 5,000 per annum and upwards should elect one member for every 100* such persons; that all political associations containing not less than 100* members, each paying a subscription of not less than Rs 5* per annum, should elect one member for every 100* such members; that the editors of all papers having a *bonâ fide* circulation of 500* copies and upwards, should amongst them elect one member; that the Bar, including all native barristers and duly licensed vakeels and mooktears, should elect one or more members; that the native chambers of commerce should elect one or more members. And other bodies and classes, according to the circumstances of each province, might equally obtain the Franchise. Persons qualified to be allowed to vote in two or more classes.

The Electoral College thus constituted would then proceed to elect, either from amongst themselves, or from outside, those men that appeared to them to be best qualified, irrespective of race, creed, colour or caste, to represent the Indian interests of the province in the local councils.

It must be left to the unofficial European and Eurasian communities, unless these should join in our deliberatians, to decide exactly how best the election of representatives of their communities could be managed, but it is clearly open to us to suggest with reference to the ability, wealth, and interests at stake, of each community, what numerical ratio should in our opinion obtain between Indian, Eurasian, and European elected representatives in each province.

The question of whether representatives in the local councils should or should not necessarily have a private income of not less than a certain monthly sum, either of their own in realized property or earned by them in some profession or business, or guaranteed to them by their constituents (if this be thought advisable), will also have to be considered.

The above remarks are submitted purely to illustrate, by the suggestions they embody, the nature of the questions connected with the all-important subject of representations that will require consideration and discussion.

But it may perhaps be affirmed with some confidence, that while one object of any scheme must necessarily be to secure as broad a basis for electoral operations as is consistent with excluding those unqualified by education and manner of life to share in the Government of the country, the main object of any scheme that we adopt must be to secure as our representatives the ablest, most independent and above all most public-spirited men available.

It is very possible that this primary object will not be attainable in any two provinces by precisely the same system, and delegates should beforehand carefully work out with the rest of the ablest men of their province, subdivision or city, the precise method by which under local conditions this primary object seems most likely to be attained.

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* **All figures are inserted purely tentatively, to avoid blanks.**

In conclusion I am to remark that the time of the Congress will be limited, and that this question of representation is the pressing one of the day, and that it is not desirable to complicate it with a multitude of minor or secondary questions; but that at the same time if in your committee's opinion there be any other subjects of *pressing* national importance, the discussion of which at this coming Congress they consider essential, it is earnestly hoped that you will, with the least possible delay, set the same forth in a circular letter to all other committees so that all may be prepared to discuss the same. It would be well if in such circular you could conveniently sketch out the nature of the resolution which your committee would desire to see carried, as a basis for preliminary discussion by the delegates of other provinces with their constituencies.

It would be convenient if your circular could be printed, and sent in sufficient number of copies to each select committee to enable them to distribute copies to sub-committees and representatives.

Such circulars might be headed like this present one, and bear the town name of the committee as this does, with, if you issue more than one such circular, your own serial number,

November 5th, 1886.

CALCUTTA NO. 2.

To

THE SECRETARY OF THE COMMITTEE.

DEAR SIR,

THE great importance of securing for India, Indian representatives in Parliament, requires no demonstration now.

We consider that at the coming Congress the best means of securing funds to meet the expenses of Indian candidates in England should be carefully considered, and some definite scheme for the future adopted. The points, *inter alia*, to be considered are—

1st.—How it is to be determined, whether any Indian proposing to stand for a seat in Parliament is or is not entitled to be considered a national candidate and therefore entitled to national support?

[This requires an immediate, *temporary* solution—later when representation has been introduced into India, it will probably be sufficient to require that three-fourths of the Indian representatives in the supreme council certify that the person is in all ways qualified and appears to have a reasonable prospect of success, but in the meantime some other scheme for approving candidates must be adopted.]

2nd.—Shall any but Indians be competent to become national candidates?

[It is to be suggested that Europeans non-domiciled, if fit to be members of Parliament, will almost necessarily possess sufficient means of their own to require no pecuniary assistance from us, and further, that any such assistance from us would lead to their being considered paid members greatly diminishing, in the case of Europeans, their power for good in the House. As regards domiciled Europeans and Eurasians, probably unless these communities join our movement, they should be left to make their own arrangements for their respective representatives should they desire to have such in the House.]

3rd.—What should be the nature and extent of assistance afforded to national candidates?

[For instance, should it be only a lump sum, of not exceeding say Rs. 5,000, or Rs. 10,000 towards preliminary and election expenses, given once for all, without demand for accounts, or requiring full accounts and the repayment of any balance; or should, besides this, a yearly allowance of say Rs. 2,000, or Rs. 4,000 be made so long as the candidate continued to sit in the House and retain the confidence of the country? Should passages to and fro be paid?

Again should the assistance to an approved national candidate be supposed to be all he will receive (except from his own personal friends and family), or should it be treated as a supplementary grant to one partly provided for by his province?]

4th.—How shall funds be raised for providing such grants, if any, as it may be decided to give to national candidates?

It is needless to press the matter further; numerous other minor questions will suggest themselves as soon as the matter is thoughtfully considered, and the above remarks are merely intended to suggest the nature of the points which ought, our committee believe, to be settled at the coming Congress.

* * * *

November 7th, 1886.

(*Many other similar suggestions, of subjects for discussion, were circulated, but the above will suffice to show the character of these pre-Congress inter-communications.*)

APPENDIX IV.

(Selection of Telegrams and Communications expressive of Sympathy with the objects of Congress, laid on the table at the close of the First Day's Proceedings, vide ante, pp. 16 and 58).

From President, Literary Association, Coconada.

Association regrets its inability to send delegates. Sympathizes warmly with movement.

From President of General Meeting at Santipore.

At a meeting of the people of Santipore, held yesterday, it was resolved that this meeting desires to convey to the National Congress its entire sympathy with the objects of the Congress.

From Chairman of Shillong Meeting.

Public Meeting, Shillong, express complete sympathy with National Congress.

From Secretary, Bulsar Arya Sabha.

Sabha entirely sympathizes in proceedings of National Congress at Calcutta.

From President, Central India Association.

We have delegated Messrs. Mohendranath Chatterjee and Gangaram Choonilall, and have fullest sympathy with objects of Congress.

From Desai Kahanrai Hukoomatrai, President, Broach Association.

Accept our sincerest sympathy in the cause the Congress has at heart. Broach wishes success to your patriotic labours.

From Secretary, Vidyabhivarkani Sabha, Vizianagram.

Sabha heartily sympathizes with National Congress.

From Secretary of Lok Sangraha Sabha, Veerumgaum.

General Meeting desires to express deep sympathy with Congress work. Empowers Dhruva to represent them.

From Honorary President, Baraset Association.

Express Association's hearty sympathy with the objects of the National Congress, and its desire to move Government for the several reforms in the administration which have become necessary.

From President of the Oriental Debating Society, Mombadevie.

The Oriental Debating Society heartily sympathizes with the Congress.

From the Secretary of the Patriotic Association, Trichinopoly.

Please convey to the Chairman of the Congress the deep regret we feel at our inability to be present, and kindly offer our warmest thanks to all the members of the Congress for the deep interest they have shown in meeting together to advocate the cause of the dumb millions of our countrymen. We heartily wish the Congress every success.

From Radhika Charan Mittra, Vaqueel, Dibrugarh.

Entire Indian community, Dibrugarh, have full sympathy with, and highly appreciate importance of, National Congress to be held at Calcutta on 27th December, and following days.

From (unintelligible) Sabha, Mangalore.

outh Canara wishes success to endeavours of the National Congress. Long live India.

(And a number of similar Messages from minor Associations all over the country.)

From Maharajah of Durbhangah.

Regret very much my inability to attend the Meeting of the National Congress owing to ill-health, but wish it every success; hope some practical scheme will be resolved upon about the best way to develop the natural resources and utilize the dormant capital of the country. It is indeed a happy thing for natives to see representatives from all parts of the country assembled together to discuss the future advancement of India. Only a few years ago such a thing could not even be dreamt of, and sincerely hope something practical will be done to encourage trades and manufactures in the country.

From Eardley Norton, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, Madras.

Regret inability attend Meeting this year. Grateful for invitation. Accept assurance, warmest sympathy in your work.

From Bramhamoyi Debya, Sabrool, vid Madhanagar.

Heard all about the National Congress. Accept the blessings of an old Hindu widow. I bless you and pray your this union might last for ever.

From Rajah of Nilambur, Mullaparam.

Regret notice received too late; anxious to share in the undertaking in which fully sympathize.

(And a great number of similar messages, from all kinds of people, expressing sympathy, sending good wishes or blessings, or explaining non-attendance in consequence of sickness, deaths of relatives, and a variety of causes.)

(Also numerous letters like the following.)

No. 1373.

PARJOAR ASSOCIATION OFFICE,
47, SANGATTOLA, DACCA.
The 26th December 1886.

To

THE SECRETARY TO THE NATIONAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE,
BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION ROOMS,
Calcutta.

SIR,

I HAVE the honor, on behalf of the Parjoar Association, Dacca, to inform you that it expresses its cordial sympathy with the objects and the aspirations of the National Congress about to be held in Calcutta. The Association has entire confidence in the Congress, and hopes that the important question of the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils of this country, on a representative basis, will receive the greatest attention of the Congress. The Parjoar Association wishes the Congress a happy and successful issue.

I have the honor to be,
SIR,
Yours most faithfully,
SATIS CHANDRA GHOSE,
Honorary Secretary, P. A.

(Notices of Departure of Delegates.)

"The Tribune" of Lahore says:—

"Six Lahore delegates to the National Congress of Calcutta left this station by the evening mail of the 23rd instant. A large number of native gentlemen assembled on the Station platform to see them off; and the train carrying them left the station amidst loud and enthusiastic hurrahs."

Ex "Mirror."

An Ahmedabad telegram says: "The Guzerat delegates, representing the various towns and stations, started on the 22nd instant for the National Congress. There was a great demonstration at the railway station, where garlands and flowers were showered on them. Many people attended at the station to wish them a happy journey."

Ex "Mirror."

A telegram from Lucknow says:—

"A large and influential gathering of citizens of Lucknow of all classes accompanied the delegates notwithstanding the hour of their departure to the Railway Station, and despatched them with hearty good wishes and enthusiastic cheers.

(And many similar notices appeared in the various Indian papers.)

APPENDIX V.

COMMENTS OF THE PRESS.

THE NATIONAL CONGRESS.

[“*The Indian Mirror.*”]

THE great demonstration which took place yesterday afternoon in the Town Hall will never be forgotten by the thousands who witnessed it. In the point of mere display of what may not inaptly be described as the national colors, the demonstration must have exceeded the most sanguine expectations of even the most ardent among its promoters. But the event was not only a mere display—it was a solid fact and proof positive of the welding together of the different communities into an animated, hope-inspired and self-sustained whole. It was a pleasure to watch the upturned faces, as they glowed with the enthusiasm caught from the speakers. Congratulations were flying from mouth to mouth, and every one was conveying the glad message to his neighbour that he had realized what he would not have dared even to hope for a very few years since. And the fact is, indeed, hard to realize. Just imagine numerous representatives of all Her Majesty's Indian subjects grouped together under one roof—Hindu, Parsi, Mahomedan, Eurasian, and even English,—and the still more numerous castes and creeds,—their hearts beating together, their feelings the same, their thoughts running to a common goal,—even their very language the same,—imagine all this, and then open your eyes, and you will feel the truth and force of the never trite simile of John Keats:—“Imagination is like Adam's dream, he woke and found it truth.” And thus what we had so long dreamed while we slept the sleep of inaction, has become reality, when we have awakened to action.

The opening of the National Congress yesterday was, indeed, an event of which any country might be proud. It is also an event which will fill with undefined dread the enemies of Indian progress. It has been the fashion with these people to remind us ever and anon that all political agitation in this country has been in the hands of men who have made a profession of it, that it has been in the hands of men with no stake in the country, and that the aristocracy of the country, Rajahs, Zemindars, and men of wealth, if not of light, had no sympathy with it. Critics of this class must have been cruelly undeceived yesterday, when the large majority of the delegates were not only not professional agitators, but were actually men who must have made considerable sacrifice of time, comfort, and money for the cause. Again, the men who took part in yesterday's proceeding were not professional agitators whom school-boys had come to *encore*. Nor was it irresponsible youth that wakened the susceptible audience to ringing and reiterated applause. The speakers were men, whose hair had whitened with age. Old and young India had met to consider common objects. Dr. Rajendralala Mittra represented that aristocratic body, the British Indian Association; and as he spoke yesterday, one felt that that venerable figure represented something more than the aristocracy; he represented the wisdom and experience of age, and he represented the learning both of West and East. Then there was the first Native gentleman of Calcutta, Maharajah Sir Jotendro Mohun Tagore, the old man honored by his people and by his Sovereign. The Hon'ble Dadabhai Naoroji could not be considered young by any stretch of the imagination. But, perhaps, the most striking figure among the speakers was Baboo Joykissen Mookerjee. He spoke for some considerable time, and the old man's voice was very faint and low, yet infirmity and age had not prevented him from coming to the Town Hall, to speak encouraging words to the delegates and to the public who had come to welcome them. The sight was most impressive, and will be a great and useful lesson to much younger men. Now all these men have a stake and, some of them, a very large stake in the country, and are certainly not professional agitators. Among the delegates who spoke yesterday, and spoke with great effect, was Nawab Reza Ali Khan Bahadur, a nobleman of note in Lucknow. Tall and slim, as he rose from his seat on the platform, the spectators greeted him with ringing cheers. But the message of peace and good will he conveyed from the Mahomedans of the united provinces—the most important in India—to their Hindu and other fellow-subjects, was received with tumultuous enthusiasm. This nobleman repudiated the action of certain Bengal Mahomedans, and altogether his speech was a hearty and unstinted peace-offering; and as such it was received with satisfaction and gratitude. That the vast majority of the Indian Mahomedans fully sympathised with the objects of the Congress was proved later on when the President read the telegraphic congratulations of the Mahomedans of Hyderabad and of the whole of the Deccan. Indeed, there were Mahomedan delegates in the hall from all parts of India, not the least among whom was Mr. Rahmatullah Mahomed Syani, late Sheriff of Bombay. It will be seen that the Mahomedans have acquitted themselves most creditably on the day when the whole nation was on its trial, and its triumphant emergence from this most severe ordeal may be attributed to a very appreciable extent to the hearty co-operation of the Mahomedans.

The tone of yesterday's proceedings was unexceptionable. There was absolutely nothing in them to which the most pronounced Babu-phobist could object. Unalloyed and affectionate loyalty to the Throne, enthusiastic veneration for the Queen, these were displayed continuously throughout the afternoon. All the great virtues of Englishmen were freely admitted, and ungrudgingly extolled. And Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji managed to raise a cheer even for Lord Dufferin. This little fact abundantly testifies to the good temper and sense of the meeting, and the probable bias of the future deliberations of the Congress. The fact is that the people of India are loyal to the backbone. We take and give hard blows. Englishmen kiss and make friends with thrashed adversaries. We have learnt the genial lesson from our masters. And if we find it our duty, a little oftener than is agreeable to us, to say bitter things of English rule in some of its aspects, none the less do we love to dwell on its brighter side. The people of India had met yesterday to consider some of the darker aspects of this rule. But when asked by the

President if they were disloyal, because they made certain demands, an indignant thundering "no" rumbled for many seconds in the huge hall. And as for their loyalty, its depth may be judged when they cheered even Lord Dufferin.

THE SECOND NATIONAL CONGRESS.

[By a Bombay Delegate.]

Yesterday's monster meeting in the Town Hall ought to be registered in the annals of British India as unique of its kind. There may have been, perhaps, for all we know, more crowded meetings in that noble hall in times past, where the voice of wisdom and the charms of eloquence have united to make Native demonstrations for political objects a grand success. And it is possible to imagine that in times to come, equally successful meetings will be held for purposes the most beneficent for the weal of the State at large. But never, perhaps, for another half a century to come will there congregate an audience at once so intelligent, so instinct with moderation, so unbounded in its enthusiasm, so throbbing with the generous pulsations of national life, and withal so hopeful of the ultimate political emancipation of their race as the one that gathered yesterday afternoon in the hall of the metropolis of the Empire, under the presidency of a true and devoted son of India, and one of the most unselfish and honored patriots that the country has produced during the last fifty years. Whether we think of the various nationalities that were grouped in that hall, men of every caste and community, of every shade of opinion, or whether we take into consideration the representatives which each Town, District and Province sent forth to deliberate on questions of common weal, one cannot help remarking that the time and the occasion were unique. The meeting marks a distinct epoch in the history of our Indian communities. It is the herald of coming events—events still in the womb of time, but which are sure to take place at the proper moment, and with the happiest of results. The burning words in which Macaulay concluded his great speech, fifty-three years ago, have been verified. It is in reality the dawn of that "proud day," which he forecast with the instinct of the seer—a day to be proud of not only for India but for England. It is an event in which every genuine Englishman should rejoice. For it is the happy result of that beneficent policy of education which our rulers laid down in 1854. As the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji reminded the meeting, India is a trust which Providence has reposed in the British, for the benefit of the Indian races. And this meeting may fairly be pointed out as an example of the honest and liberal spirit in which that trust has been hitherto discharged. If we are now agitating for greater political freedom in the constitutional manner we are now doing, our rulers must remember how far we have falsified the alarmists in their own ranks, men of narrow vision and still narrower spirit, men steeped in selfishness and prejudices, men who are never tired of proclaiming on the house-top that by giving knowledge to the Indians they are giving them power which they will rather abuse than use. Have not Indians, guided by the knowledge, which English literature and English history impart, learned to make proper use of the freedom of speech so long granted to them? Who could deny, after hearing the words of moderation and wisdom, which fell from the lips of two such veteran politicians as Dr. Rajendralala Mittra and the Hon'ble Dadabhai Naoroji, that Indians of liberal education are in every way fit for greater political freedom? I am fully convinced that had there been present at the meeting those severe critics, who, in season and out of season, have been vainly vociferating that we are not yet far removed from our state of pupilage, and therefore, unfit for a larger political freedom, they would have found ample reason to modify their views. Nay, I go a step further, and say that they would have acknowledged with all the sterling honesty characteristic of Englishmen that we had fully made out our case to participate more largely in the government of the country, and to represent in the Councils of the Empire the true wants and wishes of our people. Thus, the reforms which the President enumerated as being now necessary for the better government of the country are reforms which would, if granted, tend rather to strengthen than undermine the British Indian Empire. As Sir Charles Trevelyan sagaciously observed half a century ago, of us Indians, "so far from having the idea of driving the English into the sea uppermost in their minds, they have no notion of any improvement, but such as rivets their connection with the English, and makes them dependent on English protection and instruction." Thus the reforms, which we are now advocating, have, for their foundation, mutual benefit and good will. These two points, I think, were very well brought out by Mr. Dadabhai in his speech; and it is to be hoped they will be read in the light and in the spirit in which he candidly placed them before the meeting. Altogether the two addresses were most admirable, and are sure to commend themselves to the judgment of every right-thinking Englishman, who has at heart the genuine welfare of our countrymen and his own. It is also to be hoped that the important and authentic information which Mr. Dadabhai communicated to the meeting with regard to the sentiments and feelings which the Viceroy cherished towards us, will tend to disabuse the mind of many a sceptic, who has hitherto viewed all actions emanating from that exalted personage as retrogressive or distinctly injurious to the interests of the Indians. It is needful at this juncture that our people should disabuse their minds of erroneous impressions and prejudices—be these latter ill-founded or well-founded. Mutual toleration and confidence are most essential for a consummation of some of those pressing reforms which have been long since in the air. Without these we shall be able to achieve nothing; the second National Congress will, it is to be hoped, show by its deliberations during the next three days how far it is worthy of being respected by our rulers, and how far it is a duty on their part in return to comply with some of its most reasonable demands.

THE NEXT CALCUTTA CONGRESS.

["*Native Opinion,*" *Bombay.*]

The anniversary of the great national movement, which was inaugurated last year, and which first came to a head in this city has arrived, and the National Congress meets this year at Calcutta. The Bombay Presidency Association has chosen its delegates for the great assembly, and all the public bodies throughout the country will do the same, and there will assemble at Calcutta during the ensuing Christmas a gathering as remarkable for its representative character as for the capacity and ability of its collective members. The delegates from Bombay show names, which are not only representative of the Presidency, but some of whom would be gladly accepted as their representatives by any